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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE INDIAN FOOD SCARCITY: ITS CAUSES AND LESSONS

By P. J. GRIFFITHS, C.J.E.L., M.L.A.(CENTRAL)

ALMOST as soon as I arrived in England a few weeks ago I met one of those depressing individuals, best described by the old-fashioned phrase "Job's comforters," who delight in discouraging anybody at the outset of a new task. He was an official high up in the counsels of Government and supposed to be in touch with public opinion. "What are you wasting your time for?" he said. "Nobody in England wants to hear about India, for they are all far too busy winning the war." Well, as far as Job's comforters are concerned, I have met them before; and, as for officials, I have been one myself, so I did not take this individual too seriously. I determined instead to find out for myself if the people of Britain were interested in India or not, and with this aim I began to haunt all those places where men gather together. I soon found that I only had to mention the word India to call forth a chorus of questions about the India famine: Is it still as bad as ever? Has it been exaggerated? Is it our fault? These were amongst the many questions I have found hurled at me. It was soon obvious that the ordinary man in Britain keenly wanted to know about the Indian famine, but it was equally obvious that his view had been distorted, not only by the false atmosphere of emotionalism which had been created, but also by attempts in some quarters to make political capital out of this situation. My object today is to get rid of that atmosphere of emotionalism, to avoid political prejudice, and to give, if I can, an objective account of the food situation in India.

I am not, therefore, going to play upon your sympathies or to dramatize the situation by painting a picture of the 400,000,000 people of India in the grip of starvation. Such a picture would be purely imaginary, for there are parts of India today where no shortage of any kind exists and where the ordinary man is better off than he ever was before. The calamity which has afflicted India is limited both in area and in the type and classes of people affected by it. In the main it is limited to Bengal on the north-east of India, to the States of Travancore and Cochin on the south-west of India, and to certain portions of the Madras Presidency. I propose to concentrate today almost entirely on Bengal, not only because that happens to be the Province that I know best, but also because firm and wise administrative action in Travancore and Cochin has brought about a great improvement in the situation there, and Bengal remains the area where the situation is still bad.

THE MAIN FACTS

It would be well to begin, then, by reminding you of a few elementary facts regarding Bengal. In population that Province is about equal to Great Britain; round about Calcutta there is an industrial area with a population of several million, but nearly all the rest of the people of Bengal live in purely agricultural areas. They are rice-growers and rice-eaters, and in East Bengal their land might be described as the

land of rice and water, water and rice—ricefields stretch for hundreds of square miles, intersected only by the rivers and canals along which traffic passes, and at any rate in the eastern parts of the Province seldom broken up by roads. So intimately is the prosperity of man in Bengal bound up with rice that in Bengalian novels a common figure of speech to describe the prosperous individual is the "one-seer" man; that man is prosperous who can afford his seer of rice per day. There are three rice crops in the year, and, as one watches the cultivator just before the oncome of the heavy rains transplanting his seedlings into the mud ready for the onrush of the waters, it is impossible not to think of that Biblical description of "casting your bread upon the waters that it may return to you after many days."

Bengal, then, is a land of rice, and it must be obvious that in such a land the actual cultivator who owns his land and there are many millions of them—is not likely to go short of food. There are, however, large numbers of landless labourers who work on a daily wage for the more prosperous cultivators, and who in normal times buy back from those cultivators some of the rice which they themselves have helped to cultivate. At a time when the cultivator himself is holding on to his rice—and I shall explain later why he is doing this—the landless labourer is hard hit, and he is therefore the foremost of both classes in Bengal today whose plight can be justifiably described as pitiful.

The other great class in distress is the poorer section of the population of the towns. Here, too, it is necessary to bear one qualification in mind. The employee in a great industry—either one of the great war industries which have sprung up in the past few years or in those peace-time industries which form the foundation of the prosperity of Calcutta—is comparatively well cared for. His wages have risen considerably in the past two years, and in many cases his employer makes himself responsible for the supply of rice at pre-war rates. I could tell of British industrial concerns that are buying rice at Rs. 30 a maund and selling it to their labourers at Rs. 5 a maund. There is, however, a very large section of the population not covered by this protection—casual labourers here and there or persons who are too old or too infirm to earn their own living.

It is this section of the Calcutta population, together with the many thousands of destitutes who naturally swarm towards a great town in a time of shortage, who have been the worst sufferers and whose pictures you have seen in the daily papers. The shortage has not brought hunger to the well-to-do, but it is important to remember that there are a great many lower middle-class people in Bengal who have been very severely hit by the acute rise in prices. They have had to dig into their savings, or have gone into debt, or they have cut down their normal standards of living to cope with the situation. Their difficulties have a just claim on our sympathy. But when we are speaking of actual starvation we must keep our sense of proportion and remember that that description only properly applies to the landless labourers and to the poorest section of the urban population. In saying this I am not trying to minimize the seriousness of the situation, for these classes whom I have described are extremely numerous, and a situation under which they are in danger of starvation is one which must fill every one of us with dismay.

Hunger in a land of plenty—that is the state of affairs which I have described. How has it come to pass? It is necessary, in the first place, to remember that even in normal times this great rice-growing Province of Bengal is not self-sufficient in the matter of food. For decades past there has been a steady growth in population, and in some of the rural areas of East Bengal the density of 3,000 persons per square mile has now been reached; those of you who are familiar with the figures of population density in various parts of the world will know that this is an extremely high figure, which represents a great strain on the productive capacity of the land concerned. Bengal in normal times depends partly on the import of rice from elsewhere—the other Provinces of India and the other countries of the British Commonwealth, such as Burma and Australia, must also take their part in feeding the people of Bengal.

PRODUCTION FIGURES

At this stage, if we are to understand what has happened, I must take you away from Bengal for a moment and ask you to consider the wider picture of India as a

whole. According to the official figures, India in peace-time produces between 50 and 53 million tons of grain a year and consumes about 54 million tons—there is an adverse balance of from 1 to 2 million. Let me say in passing that we must not take these figures of production too seriously, for they are not based on any scientific method of collecting statistics. Once or twice a year the order goes forth from the Provincial Government that estimates of yield are to be made. In the permanently settled areas, where the Government revenue machinery is very meagre, this order finds its way down in due course to the village *chaukidar*—a part-time, generally illiterate employee, paid perhaps seven or eight shillings a month. He scratches his head and says to himself: “Haren over there seems to have grown a bit more rice this year, while Bipen Bihari over there has grown even more.” And having concluded the head-scratching process he reports an increase of two annas in the crop.

These reports are all collated in the office of the collector—which means in practice that the collector’s head clerk deals with them. The collector may or may not apply his own mind to the problem, but, in any case, back will go a solemn letter to the Provincial Government: “I have the honour to state that the estimated crop for the year is so much.” Having been a collector myself, I would not care to go to the stake in the defence of the accuracy of these figures, and there is fairly general agreement that India in the future must have some better statistical machinery. But though the figures of consumption and production may be regarded as very largely guesswork, the gap between the two is fairly accurately known. Customs figures may be considered accurate for all practical purposes, and do tell us how much India eats in excess of what she produces. It is clear that in normal times India is not quite self-sufficient in the matter of grain, but depends on imports to the extent of between 1 and 2 million tons per year.

THE CAUSES OF SCARCITY

The first cause of the trouble in India today is the loss of these imports. In one sense it might be argued that this loss had been more than made up as the result of the “grow more food” campaign, for it is estimated that production has increased by nearly 2 million tons per year as the result of that campaign. It is, however, important to remember that the significance of imports depends not so much on their volume as on the possibility of fluctuation in accordance with demand. As long as imports are possible and more or less unlimited, a local shortage can always be made good by additional imports, and a local rise in price can be restrained in a similar way. In other words, the real importance of imports lies in their balancing and levelling action. Today, not only has India lost imports from Burma, but the imports from Australia or elsewhere have been greatly curtailed as the result of shipping difficulties and the priority of other war needs. The balancing and levelling factor has gone, and India, like any other country whose consumption and supply roughly balance, and which is largely cut off from outside sources of supply, is in a peculiarly sensitive condition. Any local disturbance, any limited failure of crops, or any loss of confidence, may very easily throw the whole machine out of gear.

I have spoken of loss of confidence; it was this factor that first began to make the situation difficult early in 1942. Japan was sweeping onwards towards the west; Malaya had gone, Burma was going, and to many of the inhabitants of Eastern India it seemed as though nothing could check the advance of the Japanese. In their minds the invasion of India was a practical certainty, and a great wave of fear spread throughout the Provinces concerned.

All over the world cultivators are particularly sensitive to the force of events, and, true to type, the cultivator of East India began to feel that he had better hold on to his grain. What was the use, he argued, of selling grain for money if that money was going to be dishonoured by the conquering Japanese? When everything else was uncertain, let him at least feel that he had sufficient foodstuff for himself and his family. This idea spread from village to village, and as the result of it cultivators were less inclined to sell than they had ever been in previous years. This holding back naturally produced a rise of prices, and then we found ourselves at once in a vicious circle. The rise of prices still further strengthened the tendency of the cultivator to hold on to his grain; it was not necessary for him to sell so much in

order to pay his rent or his land revenue or his debts to the money-lender, and at the same time the belief that the rising trend of prices would continue encouraged him to hold on in the hope of doing still better later on. A tendency of this kind is obviously cumulative, and the only possible remedy consists in persuading the cultivator that prices will soon fall, that the man who holds on too long will then be caught, and that the wise man will sell while there is yet time. Publicity on these lines was tried, though perhaps not on the scale or the intensity which was to be desired; but it failed to produce any effect, and the cultivator continued to hold on to his stocks.

THE SPECULATOR

At this stage the third factor came into operation. The speculator began to enter the market, to buy where he could—though buying was not easy for him—and then to hoard in the hope of selling at famine prices later. Speculation is not an easy problem for any Government to deal with anywhere, but even bearing in mind the difficulty of action, I must express the opinion that all the Governments concerned failed lamentably in taking action against speculators and hoarders. Food offences in India have hardly ever received adequate sentences. It was proposed at one time to give widespread publicity to cases in which hoarders and offenders against food laws had received deterrent sentences; that publicity was never given, and could not have been given, because the courts, in fact, completely failed to do their duty in this matter. The Central Government and the Provincial Government have been warned again and again—particularly by various British members of the Legislatures in India—that the weakness of the courts was making the law a laughing-stock and bringing Government into disrepute. Up to when I left India a few weeks ago the warnings had produced no adequate results, and the sentences which were being inflicted on offenders were continuing to make a mockery of the law.

There was, however, another difficulty which operated simultaneously with the action of the speculators; the ordinary householder in the towns in India began to get frightened of the future, and when and where he could began to lay up stocks of food. He did not in general lay up large stocks, because he could neither get them nor afford them, but he did lay up what he could. This still further diminished the amount of grain available for sale to the daily purchaser, and still further accentuated the rising tendency of prices. It is difficult to condemn the ordinary householder for what he might well regard as common prudence. It must, however, be said that throughout all these difficulties the lack of a highly developed civic conscience has been one of the aggravating factors. You cannot deal either with speculative hoarding or with innocent and understandable holding on to stocks without the assistance of a strong and well-informed public opinion. In India as yet there is no such public opinion. India today is about to embark upon self-government; if she is to prosper and to grow in stature, her first task will be to build up this sense of civic duty, and to engender in the minds of all her citizens a spirit comparable to that which saved Britain in the dark days of 1940.

THE BENGAL CYCLONE

Serious as the factors I have mentioned might have been by themselves, their effect was increased immeasurably by the great natural calamity that befell Bengal in October, 1942. One of the worst cyclones ever experienced struck Bengal in October, 1942, and by ill chance spent its chief force on the three greatest grain-growing districts of Bengal—Midnapore, Barisal, and 24 Parganas. In one of those districts the cyclone coincided with a high tide and resulted in a terrible tidal wave of a kind not experienced for nearly a hundred years. It swept across the low-lying areas of the Midnapore district, submerging them to a depth of many feet and destroying standing crops as it went. Nor was this its only ill effect, for those stocks of paddy which had been garnered from the year before were practically all destroyed.

As a result of this calamity the yield of the crop in the cold weather of 1942-1943 was far below the normal. Exact figures are difficult to come by, but it may safely be said that the Bengal harvest amounted to less than 7 million tons as compared with the normal figure of over 8 million tons. If this shortage of perhaps 15 per cent. had been evenly distributed throughout the population of Bengal, it might indeed have

caused hardship, but it certainly would not have meant disaster; but, of course, when there is a disaster of this kind the cultivator still retains enough for his own consumption and so passes on the bulk of the shortage to the towns. An all-over shortage of 15 per cent. may very easily mean a shortage of 40 or 50 per cent. for the urban population.

We see, then, that four separate factors contributed to the 1943 position: firstly, the cutting off of imports from Burma and the reduction of imports from Australia; secondly, the psychological factor which made the cultivator hold on to his grain; thirdly, the activities of the speculator and the householder; and, finally, the terrible natural calamity of October, 1942.

THE FOOD DEPARTMENT AT THE CENTRE

It is not surprising that by 1943 the position in Bengal had become serious and that indeed at one stage the stocks of food in Calcutta were practically exhausted. By this time the Food Department of the Central Government had got into its stride. It is a matter of great regret, and indeed of some discredit to the Central Government, that the Food Department had not been set up at an earlier stage. As far back as September, 1942, the European Group in the Central Legislative Assembly had warned Government of the trouble that lay ahead and had demanded that strong action should be taken. Their demand met with a most dilatory response; considerable delay occurred before the Food Department came into existence, and even then it was placed under the charge of one of the most heavily worked members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. There can be little doubt that in the minds of Europeans and Indians alike the Indian Government has suffered considerably in reputation as a result of its slowness and apparent unwillingness to act in this matter.

Be that as it may, by the beginning of 1943 the Food Department was at work. It framed a plan and gave to each surplus Province a requisition for the supply of a certain amount of grain to Bengal. The Provinces did not accept the figures arrived at by the Central Government. They, too, were in many cases apprehensive that the psychological factors which had operated in Bengal might extend to them also—and in at least one of those Provinces the Provincial Government was not unwilling to see high prices maintained in the interests of its agricultural population. In the first half of 1943 the total grain consigned to Bengal by other Provinces was about a quarter of the figure fixed by the Central Government. It is not practicable—nor would it be useful—at this stage to discuss whether the Central or the Provincial estimates were correct, but it is, however, to be greatly deplored that the Central and Provincial Governments failed to arrive at agreement until the very end of 1943, and it is indeed doubtful whether the problem would have been solved then but for the personal activity of His Excellency Lord Wavell.

Since that time there has been some improvement in the situation. Not only have increased imports from other Provinces been received, but it has been agreed that the great city of Calcutta shall be fed entirely from outside the Province of Bengal; this will considerably relieve the strain on the food resources of Bengal, and should go a long way to ease the position. Apart from this factor, however, Bengal has been fortunate enough to enjoy a remarkably good crop this year. Harvesting had not been finished when I left India, but according to the estimates then made it was expected that the Bengal rice crop for this cold weather would amount to about 10 million tons—a figure far above the average. This expectation had already begun to lower prices when I left India, though I believe there has been an upward tendency since then. It is, however, far too soon to assume that the trouble is over, for it remains to be seen whether the cultivator will be ready to dispose of his crop in the next few months, or whether the same nervousness which induced him to hold back last year will still continue to operate. It also remains to be seen whether the mechanism of the Government of Bengal for the purchase of a good deal of the crop will be found efficient or not.

THE BENGAL ADMINISTRATION

It is impossible for anyone in touch with the Bengal official world to resist the feeling that the administration is not really equal to the strain now being imposed

upon it. There are plenty of capable officials in the Province, but each of them is being asked to shoulder an impossible burden. It must be remembered, too, that work of this kind, involving purchasing and marketing operations, is one to which the official is unaccustomed, and to which, in many cases, it is difficult for him to adapt himself. In Government service perhaps the most important thing is never to make a mistake; this negative, though important, virtue is apt to count for more in an official career than initiative or the successful carrying through of schemes about which there was an element of doubt or speculation from the start. It is therefore not surprising that men who have grown up in the official world should not always be the most suitable persons for carrying out marketing operations.

It is the opinion of a good many people in close touch with the problem that the Government machine, in its dealings with this problem of purchasing rice, needs a good deal of reinforcement from the business world. It may be that such reinforcement would only be possible if a limited number of business men were recalled from the Army to relieve those of their colleagues who might be lent to Government for these operations; in spite of the difficulties of such recall, the magnitude and importance of the Bengal food problem is so great that action along these lines would appear to be fully justified.

APPORTIONMENT OF BLAME

It is impossible to avoid altogether the question as to where the blame lies. Its full determination would only be possible after a careful and impartial enquiry into the transactions of the last two years, and it will be remembered that an enquiry of this kind has, in fact, been demanded in the Indian Central Legislature. Such an enquiry, however, cannot be held while most of the officials concerned are busily engaged in dealing with the day-to-day problems arising from the food situation, and it would indeed be fatal to give them the impression that the schemes that they are forced to improvise now will receive a harsh and cold-blooded judgment in times of leisure by men who did not themselves have to bear the responsibility of coping with the problem at the time of its urgency. It will, however, be important to determine whether the situation has revealed weaknesses in the Constitution or in the official machine which can be remedied in the future.

Until that enquiry has taken place I can only indicate in a tentative manner where, if anywhere, the blame lies. In the first place, there can be little doubt that the former Provincial Government of Bengal, under the Premiership of Mr. Fazlal Huq, completely failed to grapple with the situation before it became too difficult. It set up no adequate administrative machinery, it made no real attempt to mobilize public opinion, and it proved itself most unwilling to call on the assistance of the Central Government. It must bear its full share of responsibility for the troubles that have followed.

Those Provinces which failed to send their appointed quota of grain to Bengal for 1943 have also a share in the responsibility. Until an impartial enquiry has determined how far the estimates of the Central Government were, or were not, accurate it is impossible to speak dogmatically on this point, but it can be said with certainty that at least some of the Provinces concerned failed to exert themselves to the utmost. In some cases those Provinces tried to take shelter behind the Communications Department, and they alleged that transport facilities were not available to enable them to despatch grain to Bengal. This is another point to which a commission of enquiry will perhaps have to direct its attention, but as far as the outside observer can judge the excuse does not seem to have been a valid one, at any rate in the latter part of 1943. Provincial separatism and the lack of any real sense of Indian solidarity must therefore be set down as one of the causes of the troubles I have described.

THE CIVIC SENSE

Closely linked with this factor is the lack of sense of civic responsibility, to which reference has already been made. It has not yet become the fashion in India for public opinion to assist in administrative problems; that opinion—or certain sections of it—is quick and active enough when it is a question of damning Governments, but it is not yet equally active against hoarding, speculation or other anti-social action by

individuals. The absence of such an active social sense must undoubtedly be considered one of the contributory causes of the food troubles in India today.

And what of the Central Government? It is not possible at this stage to say how much blame rests on the Central Government for its failure to secure agreement amongst Provinces in the matter of supplies to Bengal. Not even its best friend, however, would accuse it of promptitude, vigilance or firmness in this matter. Constitutional excuses have been put forward in defence of the Central Government, but to the outside observer, who has seen how that Government can interfere effectively in matters of law and order, they are not very convincing. Whatever may be the new form of Constitution in India, the famine has made it abundantly clear that, unless we are to fall back on a barren policy of provincial autarchy, some emergency powers will have to be devolved on the Centre in matters affecting food supply and transport. If the future Government of India is a unitary one, these powers ought perhaps to be reserved to the Centre in the Constitution itself; if, on the other hand, we have to envisage not one India but several Indias, agreement as to the exercise of emergency powers within certain limits would seem to be necessary. Above all, whatever be the form of the Constitution, there must be men in charge who will have the moral strength to exercise emergency powers when necessary, and who will realize that the primary duty of any Government is to feed its people. Freedom is important, but it is not enough by itself; nor can it be maintained unless Governments are ready to take that resolute action which in a time of emergency can alone justify their claim to the respect of their subjects.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Tuesday, February 15, 1944, when Mr. P. J. GRIFFITHS, C.I.E., M.L.A.(CENTRAL), read a paper entitled "The Indian Food Scarcity: its Causes and Lessons."

Sir ROBERT N. REID, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., presided and, in introducing the lecturer, said that he had known Mr. Griffiths from his official childhood when he joined as an assistant magistrate in Bengal in 1922. It was apparent soon after he joined that in Mr. Griffiths there was a recruit with abilities above the average, and those abilities were put to a severe test when he was sent to take charge of the notorious district of Midnapore. Three of his immediate predecessors had been murdered by terrorists and the district was in a state of extreme unrest and lawlessness consequent upon the agitation started by Gandhi in 1930. He tackled his task with vigour, determination and great success, the weapon he used mainly being continuous public speaking and intensive touring all over the district.

The Government of Bengal parted with him with great reluctance in 1936, when he was offered and accepted political employment in connection with the India Tea Association. Sir John Anderson was then Governor of Bengal, and the speaker was the Home Member of the Executive Council, and he could remember how sadly they discussed the prospect of losing this valuable officer.

Mr. Griffiths' new employment entailed membership of the Central Legislative Council at New Delhi, and he soon made his mark there as a debater and as an authority on public affairs. Latterly he had reverted partially to Government service and was assisting the Central Government of India in connection with the National War Front.

He was particularly fitted to speak on the subject of the food problem of India because he had knowledge of the problem in its all-India aspect, of which the problem in Bengal was only a part, while his experience of Bengal gave him a background which enabled him to assess the numerous factors which had brought about the present position in that Province.

Mr. GRIFFITHS then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN observed that whatever he had said of Mr. Griffiths' abilities had been amply justified by his lucid and stimulating address. He wished Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah had been present to listen to his address because of its bearing on the future of India. The food situation which had caused so much anxiety in the last eighteen months was a danger signal for the future. Suppose that Mr. Jinnah had had his way and Pakistan had been established, with one part in the north-east of India, including Bengal and Assam, and the other in the west, separated by a great mass of Hindustan in between, the food situation would have been one of insurmountable difficulty. The events to which Mr. Griffiths had referred had made very clear the necessity of some central strong administration which would have the power to deal with food and transport in the future.

Mr. E. P. MOON, I.C.S.(RETD.), said that he was following the food shortage from the end of 1941 to July, 1943, as a district officer with a town of about 400,000 inhabitants in the district. It was evident from the beginning, as Mr. Griffiths had admitted, that the Government of India had no proper grip on the situation. The basic fact was that there was a small but absolute shortage of food grains. India was normally an importing country on balance; its imports, once Burma had gone, were reduced to a minus quantity; in 1942-1943 there were net exports. In addition to the shortage there was an increased demand, owing to the fact that throughout India there was better employment, the people had better wages and ate more. The shortage became apparent early in 1942, but during that year and well on into 1943 the Government of India spokesmen and Mr. Amery insisted that there was no real shortage, only difficulties of distribution.

That was untrue, and the failure to grasp the problem firmly was the real cause of the disaster. The Government of India aggravated it by fixing the price of wheat but taking no measures whatever to get hold of supplies. On the contrary, Provincial Governments and district officers were actually discouraged from doing so. The Government of his own Province collected 2½ lakhs maunds of grain, which were of the greatest possible assistance.

In the early part of 1943, when the shortage in Bengal should have been apparent, there was still with district officers and with the Punjab Government certain stocks, but the Government of India did not endeavour to acquire them. In the White Paper it was admitted that, although the cyclone took place in October, 1942, the Government did not bestir itself until the early months of 1943, when at last a Food Department was brought into being.

The speaker did not wish to blame that Department too much, but the basic plan which it put forward was inadequate because it made no provision at all for obtaining the grain from the cultivators. During 1942 the cultivator was given an object-lesson in the advantage of holding on to his stocks, because, although the price had been fixed at Rs. 5 per maund early in the year, later in December it was released, with the consequent result that it shot up to Rs. 8 or Rs. 9.

In January, 1943, many district officers in his own Province foresaw that unless special measures were taken the cultivator would not sell his grain as soon as it was harvested. An attempt to make this plain to the Government of India failed. Between the officers and the Government of India was the Provincial Government, composed of politicians who wished prices to rise. The officers were helpless because there was no strong lead from the Government of India. Consequently when the harvest was gathered there were no plans ready-made, nor any measures taken to make the cultivator bring his grain to market. If such steps had been taken the serious situation would have been relieved.

With regard to Mr. Griffiths' condemnation of the Indian public, he would demur from this. In his Province the people did hoard and cultivators did tend to withhold their grain, but he could not say that it was more than was general in England in the same situation. People merely followed their natural instincts, but he also found that if they were spoken to good-naturedly and persistently about these things they did to some extent respond. With regard to punishments, the magistrates did what they could, but sessions judges always let people out on bail.

Dr. SUDHIN GHOSE said that one very big factor which had played a big part was overlooked by most people. At the time when there was a demand for grain to be released the cultivators were told not to sell, that the rupee was to be devaluated. Another factor was the rumour—he did not know whether it was due to a Japanese broadcast—that rice was being sold very cheaply in Calcutta, and the people flocked there to buy it.

One of Hitler's methods was to flood the streets and roads with refugees so that troop movements were impossible. This must be kept in mind when one remembered what happened in Calcutta and took into account the Japanese broadcast that they had relief ships waiting for Calcutta. He heard it said that that relief should be accepted. The Japanese then sent their bombing planes, and the casualties were very much higher than they should have been. Those admiring Mr. Gandhi and his friends were playing the game of the enemy.

It was pointed out that the Government of India could have done many things, but in apportioning the blame the people of this country would do well to keep those other factors in mind.

Captain S. T. BINSTED, Trade Commissioner for Mysore, said that according to estimates the Bengal rice crop, for this cold weather, would total about 10 million tons, a figure far above the average. Did this mean that the three areas devastated by the cyclone had been revived and were again under yield?

He had received a report from the Government of H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore, showing the way in which that Government faced up to the food shortage position. Mysore covered almost 30,000 square miles and had a population of nearly 8 millions, but, although there was an alarming food shortage, not one death had been recorded from starvation. The Government took time by the forelock, for on September 7, 1939, four days after the declaration of war, a Central Advisory Committee of officials and non-officials was established, their duty being to regulate the price of grain foodstuffs, such as rice, wheat and *ragi*. Price advisory committees were set up in all districts, and when signs of impending famine arose a Food Grain Control Order was passed.

The Order created great difficulty because Mysore became an island of controlled prices, but the Government overcame this by prohibiting the export of foodstuffs outside the State except under special licence. Hoarding and black markets were finally eliminated in August, 1943, by the issue of a Government Order for the compulsory declaration of all physical stocks. For a very brief fixed period the Government offered profitable rates to the grain merchants and cultivators to surrender all stocks in excess of a prescribed minimum, thus bringing large surplus stocks under Government control. At the expiration of the period the Government requisitioned all undeclared surpluses, drastically and without favour. Throughout Mysore grain depots were established, two-thirds run by the Government and one-third by approved co-operative societies—a system which had been remarkably successful.

Important preventive measures were the introduction of a rationing system side by side with a well-organized "Grow more Food" campaign. Rationing was first introduced in the Bangalore area, followed a little later in the Kolar Goldfields and industrial areas, and then in Mysore City and the urban districts. It had now been extended to rural areas in order to ensure fair distribution with equality of sacrifice between the surplus and deficit areas. The idea that rationing could not be successfully applied under Indian conditions had been disproved by this successful experiment in Mysore State.

Mysore was accepted and known as the model State of India, an honour achieved only by several decades of sound and progressive administration.

Mr. GRIFFITHS said, in reply to Captain Binstead's question, that very considerable portions of the devastated areas had been revived, but not those parts which were inundated by sea-water; it took more than a year to revive them.

Mr. A. K. PILLAI (Radical Democratic Party, India) said that there had always

been the problem of food, but in the last eighteen months there had been a new problem. The old problem of food consisted of scarcity to meet requirements, which was only met by increasing the purchasing power of the consumer. Land must be put to better scientific cultivation, which meant changing the land situation; science must be harnessed to the soil for better production. India was primarily agricultural, but the freedom from want set out in the Atlantic Charter was not a matter for the larger international co-operation in which India placed her faith.

With regard to the new problem, he would endorse what Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Moon had said; he thought that this problem was more political than economic. The party to which he belonged was convinced that the problem of the last eighteen months was created by speculators for profit purposes, but even more was it deliberate sabotage by people who thought that it was the occasion for bringing pressure on the Government and to overthrow it. What his party had been saying for a long time was now recognized by Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Nationalist leader of Bengal. He had received a cable that week stating that the food situation was artificially created by vested interests to bring pressure on the Government, and that this was confirmed by Dr. Mookerjee. That the food problem was mainly political was corroborated further by the Congress Party leader in the Assembly, who said that it could not be tackled before the removal of the British rule. These two statements exposed the real crux of the situation.

Attempts were being made to defeat the present experiment in Calcutta. Bengal had a minority Government which had to depend upon a number of small parties, and was not able, therefore, to tackle the problem of the speculators very boldly. He protested against the weak-kneed policy of the Central Government, which, because of democratic scruples, did not wish to interfere with the Provincial Government and did not take the matter in hand in time. If the Central Government allowed matters to drift, the experiment in Calcutta might be defeated; if it was successful, it would have a great value, not only for the food situation in Calcutta, but on the whole problem. It was therefore the responsibility of the Central Government to ensure success by timely and courageous action.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD said that Cochin, Travancore and Bombay were dependent to a far greater extent than Bengal on imports. Why was it that these areas had avoided such a serious catastrophe as had overtaken Bengal? The Bengal Government in December, 1942, came to the conclusion that they would be able to pull through without outside assistance. If they had come to the reverse decision, was it possible that the catastrophe would have been avoided or would have been much less severe?

Mr. GRIFFITHS, in reply, said that the Governments of Cochin, Travancore and Bombay took the situation in hand immediately. The Bombay Government put a rationing system into force and showed that they were not going to let things drift. The Government of Bengal allowed things to drift completely; if they had been ready to demand and accept assistance, the Central Government would have had its hands strengthened in dealing with other districts and the disaster could have been very much mitigated.

Mr. EDWARD P. CASPERSZ supported Mr. Griffiths' remarks regarding the over-worked officials in India. Mr. Griffiths had made four points, the first of which was the loss of imports, which he said amounted to 2 million tons. But, on the other hand, increased production amounted to about the same amount; in any case, 2 million tons divided amongst 400 million people was not very much, but he understood that most of this amount went to Travancore and places in the south.

The second point was the crop shortage and the hoarding by cultivators. In 1942-43 in Southern Bengal there was a crop shortage of 50 per cent., and by the time the cultivator had paid his rent and allowed for his own personal consumption there could not have been very much left for hoarding. In fact, an investigation was made and no hoarding was discovered.

Thirdly was the point regarding speculators. The rice market was one of the

most complicated and exclusive of all commercial interests. It was controlled by specialists, and they did not allow outside speculators to interfere with their operations. In his district the prices were not fixed by the cultivators, but by the merchants who bought the crops.

The last point was the effect of the Midnapore cyclone, which was not felt in the south and did not affect the crops. These four points did not seem to account for the rise in price, and they must look elsewhere. In January, 1942, there was a crop shortage of some 25 per cent., and rice was then Rs. 5 3 as. per maund in price. When he was in India in 1897 there was a shortage in the district of 75 per cent., but at no time did the price rise above Rs. 5 3as. per maund. Why should there have been no rise in 1897 while in 1943 the price rose from Rs. 3 per maund to 30, 50, 60 and even 80 rupees in some places in the same district? He wrote out to India some time ago and received an answer recently that the rise in price of grain crops was not the first rise; the first rise was in the price of clothing, which began immediately after the war. The cultivator's crop prices had to be increased in order to pay for his other needs, the prices of which had risen out of all proportion to the rise in the price of rice.

Mr. GRIFFITHS, in reply, said that Mr. Caspersz had asked why it was that a 75 per cent. shortage many years ago produced no rise in price while a 25 per cent. shortage had produced a tremendous rise. In a closed region, where for all practical purposes adjustable imports from outside ceased to be possible, markets were more sensitive and a small shortage might produce a disproportionate effect. Bengal could not get its imports from the outside world and was not getting them from outside Provinces, and it was therefore a closed region.

Mr. Caspersz also said that a good deal of the trouble arose from the rise in price of other commodities; that had been a contributory cause in forcing up the price of rice, and he believed it to be true that if the Government had dealt more firmly with the whole price structure in India the difficulties of the food situation might have been lessened.

Mr. Pillai's point was that the real cause of the trouble was political. He would not go so far as that; he would not agree that it was the main cause, but the problem had been very much aggravated by political activities. He knew it to be true that people were going about Bengal at the present time telling the cultivators not to sell who were actuated by a desire to embarrass the Government of Bengal. It was being done on a big scale, and effectively in some places. Political activity had been an aggravation but not the principal cause of the trouble.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Griffiths and to the Chairman. Mr. Griffiths had given an admirable address on the very difficult question of the Bengal famine, a calamity which had caused deep concern, not only to those who had worked and served in India, but also to a very large proportion of the population of Great Britain. Everybody in this country was asking why it had taken place. Why was it that while Indians were fighting for us in Italy we were allowing people to die of famine in Bengal? Mr. Griffiths' address was therefore most welcome, coming as it did from one who had been in close contact with the subject in India.

The vote of thanks was accorded by applause.

INDIA'S PART IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

At a meeting of the Association held on Monday, December 13, 1943, at the Caxton Hall, S.W. 1, Sir George Schuster, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., M.C., M.P., read a paper entitled "India's Part in South-East Asia." The LORD HAILEY, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., presided.

The CHAIRMAN said that it was somewhat of a grief to him that he would not be called upon to introduce Sir George Schuster; if it had been necessary it would have been a real pleasure to speak of his public work both in this country and India. It would, however, be impertinent of him to attempt to introduce Sir George to the Association. But with regard to the subject on which Sir George was about to address it, he pointed out that the approach made to the Indian problem was from a somewhat new aspect. His object was not so much to find an immediate solution of the Indian political deadlock, but to consider the position which India must occupy in a future scheme of world security. Sir George had already touched on that question in a most interesting chapter of his book *Democracy in India*; he had recently written two articles in *The Spectator* on the subject, and the Chairman hoped that he would carry the matter one stage further that afternoon.

Sir GEORGE SCHUSTER then read the paper, which was given in the last issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW (pp. 52-60).

Before the discussion the CHAIRMAN invited questions from the meeting.

Asked for further elucidation of his suggestion of a plan for the Empire—that is, the goodwill message from the United Nations—Sir GEORGE SCHUSTER said that there was an unreality about the present constitutional wrangle in India, and it would be a good plan to ask Indians to visualize what was really involved in enjoying and preserving independence. If they would visualize that they would find that there was a great need for co-operation with this country in the transitional period. If we could convince them that we on our side were anxious to give genuine co-operation, and if they realized just what co-operation would be required, that would bring a breath of fresh air into the discussion of India's problems.

Mr. BAHADOOR SINGH asked if such an approach would be made to the present Government of India, which was not regarded as being representative, or would an attempt be made to approach Indian leaders?

Sir GEORGE SCHUSTER replied that obviously he had not meant an approach made to the present Government of India. He was thinking of an approach to representative Indians of all sections and views. Mr. Bahadoor Singh's question brought them right up against the real difficulty—Who could speak for India? There was no satisfactory answer in present conditions. But Sir George felt that if it was made clear that the purpose of the British Government and nation was to co-operate in working out a realistic programme for handling the transitional period, that might create an entirely new atmosphere in India.

In reply to a further question, Sir George said that Pandit Nehru had made it clear, as had other Congress leaders, that as soon as India was self-governing he would be willing to join up with a world federation. He himself, however, did not believe that any complete world federation was practical politics as the first stage after the war. Whatever structure was made would have to be based on agreement between different sovereign states. He did not think the nations were ripe to surrender their sovereign powers to any world authority, but he wished to make the agreement between them as wide as possible.

Mr. HILTON BROWN asked if Sir George envisaged the India with which we were now dealing as a unified country in its present geographical division or as three different components of Pakistan, Hindustan and Indian States.

Sir GEORGE SCHUSTER replied that he thought he had made it clear that one had to face the possibility of at least two divisions—Hindustan and Pakistan. He did not like the idea of breaking up the unity of India; but he thought that it was necessary to go through the stage of facing such a division and trying to devise an arrangement which would work even if there were three separate Indian units. For that reason he had discussed the matter today on the basis of the worst supposition. If that should prove to be realized then his idea was that the separate States should make treaties with each other, and, at least in the first stage, settle their co-operation on that basis.

Mr. D. R. GRENFELL, M.P., who arrived after the paper had been partly read, said that he was in a little doubt as to the exact line of approach proposed by the speaker, but it occurred to him that it would be far more successful if it was assumed that India was India and not an India already crystallized into three separate political units before being asked to merge into a larger and wider group. He would assume that the line which would be more likely to lead to results would be for the Indian people to be invited to express their views on a general proposition such as Sir George had made, and meetings might be held between representative Indians, or between Indians who were sufficiently interested and had sufficient authority to speak on behalf of any section of the Indian people or of the whole. They should be invited to a conference and allowed to speak quite freely on the general lines of this proposition and to make submissions as well as receive them. It would be far more likely to reconcile conflicting opinions in India itself if full expression of views were conceded from the beginning. It might lead to a delay and distrust if it was thought that a plan had been made here for submission to Indians for the reconstruction of the States of the Pacific. Indians should be invited to regard themselves as partners in their independent Pacific organization, but certainly not divorced from the larger partnerships which might exist elsewhere in the world. They must avoid at this stage the possible mistake of its being assumed that we had made up our minds definitely on the plan to be submitted.

Mr. A. MUHLENFELD, of the Netherlands Colonial Ministry, said that Sir George Schuster had mentioned Mr. Panikkar's book *The Future of South-East Asia*. He also had read the book, and to a certain extent agreed with the principles laid down by the author in connection with the future of that part of the world. He must, however, point out that Mr. Panikkar had based his views upon the situation of the Netherlands East Indies on a number of false assumptions. He was wrongly informed on such extremely important subjects as the political and administrative systems, and the position of the Indonesian Regents, and educational policy.

He could not correct all Mr. Panikkar's mistakes, but he wished to point out that the Representative Body, or People's Council, was not an advisory council, but held co-legislative and co-budgetary powers which meant that its consent was necessary for the enactment of laws and for fixing the budget, taxation, etc. It controlled the entire policy of the executive, which had to shape its policy so that it operated in harmony with a majority of the Council. This was the real meaning of democracy, which had been part of the constitutional system of the Netherlands East Indies.

The educational system was certainly not divided into watertight compartments for Dutch and Indonesians; on the contrary it was designed in such a way that Indonesians, although belonging to a totally different sphere of culture, could always find bridges of access to the Western sphere of culture and learning if they desired. The University of Batavia formed the final link between the Western and Indonesian branches, and the majority of the students were Indonesian.

The Regents were far from "puppets" in the administrative system; they were the summits of the administrative hierarchy, the rôle of the Dutch assistant-residents being purely advisory, while the Residents were merely a link between the local and central governments.

Mr. Panikkar was also wrongly informed with regard to the judicial administration. In civil cases alone customary law was maintained for the Indonesian people, simply because Western law would have no meaning for them, but this was not the

case with regard to criminal law. There was one criminal code for all, Dutch and Indonesians alike; the difference in the courts administering this law was necessitated because it was in the interest of justice that people should be tried by judges belonging to their own cultural sphere. Jurisdiction in petty cases and police courts had been unified for all groups of the population, as this could be done without serious disadvantage. A good many of the judges and police magistrates were qualified Indonesian jurists, who had therefore both Europeans and Indonesians under their jurisdiction.

He had pointed out these facts because an understanding of them was essential for the appreciation of the Netherlands East Indies as a South-East Asiatic country, formerly a colony of the Netherlands but now a partner in the Dutch kingdom, and a country, moreover, where political development and sound and easy social relations between the various races had already made remarkable progress.

Sir STANLEY REED, M.P., said they owed a great debt of gratitude to Sir George Schuster for directing attention to the harsh realities of the situation which would confront India and this country immediately on the termination of the war. The more he looked at the map of Asia and its immense problems the more he felt that within a year of the signing of the armistice they might be sighing for the peaceful days of war.

He was not afraid of the ambitions of Russia because her own resources would absorb her activities for generations to come; but when he looked at the ambitions of young China he rather wondered what would be the external influence brought to bear on South-East Asia. What would happen when 90 million Japanese were forced back into Japan? He wondered if the distinguished statesmen at Cairo knew the conditions in Korea in the days of her independence. One of the greatest services which could be rendered was to force these problems on the attention of Indian publicists and make them realize that it was not only a matter of framing a Constitution for India, but it was a world problem which must be faced from the world standpoint and could only be settled by world agreement.

Mr. JAYA DEVA said that the problem of India and South-East Asia was important as a measure of security and peace in the post-war world, and he would approach it from that point of view. The lecturer mentioned China, Russia and Japan as future possibilities from which a threat might come to the security of that part of the world, but he did not anticipate any threat from those quarters, at any rate, in the immediate future. He thought the threat would come from those who had certain economic interests in those countries and who were naturally concerned in defending those interests. It seemed to him that India would play a big part in the immediate post-war South-East Asia, where many people had contemplated making renewed and vaster capital investments, and if there were any threat it would be from such interests.

Any security in South-East Asia must be built up with the consent and approval of its peoples, and no kind of federation or regional reorganization could be built up without those countries or peoples having a fully guaranteed freedom and voice in the affairs of their own countries. Unless this was so all the plans for building security under any sort of slogans would fail. So that political and economic freedom should be made the basis of any organization which aimed at finding security for South-East Asia.

The CHAIRMAN said that the problem which Sir George had sought to face was to a certain extent world-wide. How were we to equate the competitive individualism of independent States with the demands of world security? Security could only be achieved by common action, and common action demanded a recognition of interdependence, rather than a concentration on independence. The problem had been increased of late years by a new phenomenon—the projection of world interest from the situation of the more advanced and organized peoples to that of the peoples who had hitherto been regarded as less advanced. Nothing was more characteristic of the history of recent years than the manner in which such countries—many of these relatively backward countries—had come into the picture of world politics. Post-war

settlement could no longer—as it was in 1919—be regarded as limited to the political relations of some of the European peoples; it must include many of the Asiatic peoples also. And circumstances had made them more ambitious to assert their complete independence of others than were perhaps some of the European peoples.

This gave greater significance than ever before to the factors to which Sir George had alluded—namely, the importance of the geographical position of India in regard to any scheme of security in Asia, and her potential resources as an arsenal in the East. It was a consideration which had not been prominently before us when we discussed the Act of 1935; our thoughts were absorbed by the problem of the constitutional relations between Great Britain and India. Few of us unfortunately had then seen clearly on the horizon the clouds which had since broken in torrents of war.

Even today it was not easy to secure a realistic attention to the problem of security. There were many in England, and perhaps even more in America, who were persuaded that discussion on the means for obtaining security was beside the point. There will, they held, be an organization of world powers which will effectually prevent aggression and maintain peace. That was an attitude which was also characteristic of many parties in India. She would, in their view, be able to devote herself to the problems of her political and constitutional future, and the needs of her social and economic development, without being embarrassed by making the military or other provision necessary to guarantee security. There were, moreover, many in India who were liable to take undue comfort from the thought that India had raised a volunteer army of two million men, and vastly increased her output of munitions.

But to all this there was, of course, an answer. A world organization for peace was an ideal for which we must all hope and all work; but it would be folly to take its achievement for granted, or to assume that, even if achieved, it might not on occasion fail to function.

Sir George had suggested an approach on a less ambitious plane—the initial formation of regional schemes of security. In a regional scheme comprising the Indian Ocean area, India would have her own part to play. If she came into such a scheme there would be two advantages. She could feel that she came into it in her own right and not merely as an auxiliary of Great Britain. Secondly, her potential resources were such that she must occupy a prominent place in it, a place which might appeal to her pride in the new position she was gaining in the world. There were some of the Chairman's friends to whom the idea offered the additional attraction, that it presented the possibility that India might come in as part of a federation of neighbouring nations. Such a federation would in their view help to solve part of India's internal difficulties, for there might be in it a suitable place for the separate units—Pakistan and the like—into which India might be divided. As to this, he himself said nothing. His own faith continued to be in an undivided India. If partition had to come it should only come as a very last resort.

Sir George's proposal offered a new line of approach, and was very welcome on that ground. It should not—as Mr. Grenfell had warned us—be presented to India as a scheme on which we ourselves had decided, but must be put forward as one for full and free discussion between us. If we could enter into co-operation on this practical plane, it might be followed instinctively and almost automatically by co-operation in other practical measures also. It was in the multiplication of schemes of practical co-operation in different fields where our mutual interests were concerned that many saw the beginning of a process which would solve the question of our relations with America. We should some day find ourselves engaged in co-operating in so many respects that we should not need to raise the question of formal commitment to a union for serving world peace. And the multiplication of co-operation efforts on a concrete plane might form also the solution of the problem of our relations with India, and achieve the result which we all had at heart—her retention by her own free choice within the orbit of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The PRESIDENT (Sir Frederick Sykes) proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Hailey and to Sir George Schuster. Sir George Schuster's lecture was supplementary

to Field-Marshal Smuts's recent speech. Field-Marshal Smuts devoted himself mainly to the British Commonwealth as a whole, while Sir George had taken up the South-Eastern Pacific part of the immense problem in detail. Little had been said with regard to the vital interest which Australia had in this matter, presumably because of the suggestion that the various Dominions should discuss it.

The Cairo statement had laid down that China would get back her lost territories, but it did not include any reference to the future political status of the Dutch East Indies, Indo-China, Siam, Burma or Malaya, and a pronouncement upon this was awaited with great interest and anxiety. Sir George Schuster in his paper had made the fact clear that Japan had first of all to be beaten and that this might be expected to take a long time. India, in the meanwhile, had to try to get rid of the canker of internal politics and assume her place as the bastion of defence of South-East Asia. The subject was one which would have to be discussed not only in the immediate future but would take a long time to thrash out. He was sure that it was useful that the lecturer had brought it forward in so clear a form.

The vote of thanks was accorded by applause.

SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER, in acknowledging, said that he hoped Mr. Grenfell did not think he meant to put forward a cut-and-dried plan to India. His idea was that India should be brought into the discussions at the earliest stage. Lord Hailey's remarks seemed to confirm what had always been his own main point, which was that discussion of the real practical tasks of government offered the best hope of bringing the various sections into a spirit of partnership. Lord Hailey also seemed to have confirmed what had been his main thesis today--namely, that it was unlikely that a form of constitutional arrangement could be devised which would permanently and automatically ensure the necessary co-operation, and that it would be much better to think in terms of what had to be done in the next ten years, and then get on with that together. If India and Great Britain could approach the problem in that way they would at least get down to realities.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

BY LORD ERSKINE, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

On October 26, 1943, at a meeting of this Association, a most valuable paper was read by Professor R. Coupland, C.I.E., entitled "Possibilities of an Indian Settlement." In view of the importance of the subject and of the fact that the time then available did not permit of prolonged debate, the Council decided that a further opportunity should be afforded to Members for the expression of their ideas. And it is with the object of reopening the discussion that I have been asked to give this short address today.

Though I was unable to be present when Professor Coupland read his paper, I have since had an opportunity of perusing an account of the proceedings in which, not unnaturally, many divergent views were put forward.

Let me say at once that I am not among those who think this matter is necessarily one for Indian brains alone to settle, and that we in Great Britain can wash our hands of the whole question and by so doing absolve ourselves from all responsibility. Parliament is responsible for the good government of the Indian Empire, and it would be a betrayal of our trust were we to allow the difficulties of the situation to turn us from our declared purpose of leading the Indian peoples to full self-government.

It is generally understood that the policy of His Majesty's Government remains similar to that put forward in the Amery-Cripps proposals and that, after the war, it is still intended to set up a Constituent Assembly and to implement its findings. But it is perhaps doubtful whether, in the existing state of Hindu-Muslim tension, it will be possible to convene such a body at all; for it may well be that the Muslim League will refuse to take part in the discussions unless the Hindu Parties give a prior undertaking in regard to Pakistan. Nor is it very likely that the Hindu representatives will consent so to tie their hands. And even if the Assembly does actually get down to business it is by no means certain that an agreement will result.

SEEKING A SETTLEMENT

If no agreement is reached we shall revert to the present unsatisfactory position, and no progress towards the goal of self-government will have been made. Such a negative conclusion could not, for obvious reasons, be regarded with equanimity by the British Government. Some fresh attempt to find a settlement would have to be made, and it would then be the duty of His Majesty's Ministers in the United Kingdom to put forward new proposals. In other words, we cannot evade our responsibilities.

The first requisite for further political progress is the discovery of some constitutional method whereby the great Muslim community may be satisfied that it will not be dominated and oppressed by the Hindu majority. The authors of the Government of India Act of 1935 believed they had dealt effectively with this problem by according statutory powers, colloquially called safeguards, to the Viceroy and the Governors. Personally I remain of the opinion that these provisions were adequate for their purpose, but this view does not appear to be shared by the leaders of the Muslim League.

SPECIAL POWERS OF GOVERNORS

Is not their attitude based on a misapprehension? For some obscure reason a legend has been allowed to grow up that, in those Provinces where the Congress Party had obtained a majority, arrangements were entered into between the Governors and their Ministers whereby the Governors agreed to make no use of their special powers. Now it is quite true that before the Congress Ministries took office certain Governors made speeches explaining the constitutional position and pointing out that these powers were not intended to hamper Ministers in the day-to-day administration of their Departments. But I can state quite definitely and of my own knowledge that no agreements whatever were made between the Governors and their Ministers as to the use of the special powers, nor were any assurances given in regard to them. Moreover, when occasions arose which necessitated the use of the safeguards, not only were they used, but when used they proved effective.

Nevertheless, the unfounded belief of many of the leaders of the Muslim League that the Provincial Governors, by means of these reputed agreements, abandoned the Muslim populations to the mercies of the Hindu majority may well be one of the main reasons for the uncompromising attitude they have adopted in recent years.

It may be objected that all this is ancient history with little bearing on the future. I am not sure whether this would be a correct view. It is doubtful if there will be any real desire amongst Indians to effect great changes in the Provincial Constitutions, though they may wish to alter the number and boundaries of the existing Provinces. For, on the whole, the 1935 Act worked well in the Congress majority Provinces and is still functioning effectively in the others.

FOREIGN CONSTITUTIONS

It is easy enough to talk of irremovable executives and to discuss Swiss or American forms of government. But it should be remembered that Indian politicians have been brought up to admire British Parliamentary institutions, and when they speak

of a democratic régime it is representative government on British lines that they envisage.

Moreover, foreign Constitutions have difficulties of their own. Take, for instance, the United States. How could the irremovable executive in that country obtain money to carry on its affairs if Congress were to refuse to vote supply? I understand there is a convention, up to now never infringed, that Congress must not make the position of the Government impossible, even in the rare case where the President and his Cabinet belong to one party and the majority in control of Congress to the other.

But would such a convention work in India, where the need for compromise is at present little appreciated and where political organizations tend to follow extreme courses? Does it not, therefore, seem necessary that, for many years to come, there will have to be some functionary at the head of each Indian Government, be he called Viceroy, Governor, Prince or President, armed with full powers to protect minorities and to take control of affairs if a breakdown in the administration should occur?

Let it not be forgotten that in no other area in the world, with the possible exception of China, can inefficiency in the machinery of government result in such great calamities or inflict so much suffering on the population.

THE CENTRE

It will no doubt be generally agreed that the constitutional difficulties in the Provincial field are in no way so serious as those which confront us when we come to consider the Centre. There are many who argue with cogency and force the advantages of a strong Central Government as opposed to a weak one. In my view the choice no longer lies between these two alternatives. I fear it lies between a limited Centre or no Centre at all. Statesmen can rarely build an ideal edifice, for they have to take into account the circumstances and conditions of the times in which they live.

The great size of India, its teeming population, the astonishing diversities both of race and religion, and, above all, the taste of power already enjoyed by the Provincial Administrations will, I believe, make the reversion to a Supreme Government all but impossible. It is always difficult to put the clock back. For good or ill the sections of the 1935 Act have closed a chapter in Indian constitutional history.

But to divide the sub-continent into several separate and quite independent States would surely be a most retrograde step. However serious internal differences may be there does undoubtedly exist a widespread feeling that India is one entity.

Indian historians look back with pride to the period of the Maurya Empire and to the brilliant era of the Moguls, while the long years of the British connection have not only accustomed the people to the idea of unity but have also demonstrated its advantages in no uncertain fashion.

Indeed, I sometimes wonder if those who are most vociferous in advocating separation have ever really faced the tremendous problems that such a policy involves. Certain it is that up to the time of the last Great War there was no thought of dividing the country. It is the introduction of democracy, a system of government which works by counting heads, that has caused all the trouble. Ninety-two million Muslims look askance at 255 million Hindus and fear that their culture and religion are in danger. Other sections of the population entertain similar suspicions. If, therefore, unity is to be preserved, a settlement between the two great communities is essential.

THE REGIONAL PLAN

Professor Coupland propounds a solution which, by dividing India into four regions, would result in equality of representation at the Centre as between Muslims and Hindus. Many plans with the same object can doubtless be put forward. But for any of these schemes to succeed a communal agreement must be reached.

Will the Hindu majority be content to share the Central Power with the Muslims? Will the Muslims be prepared to forgo their demand for Pakistan in return for fuller autonomy in the Provinces together with a rearrangement of their areas? Perhaps they will, if the subjects to be dealt with at the Centre are strictly limited and defined. Surely the advantages of a united India are worth considerable sacrifices by both sides?

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

Has history any lesson to teach or guidance to give in regard to this question, which involves the happiness and prosperity of one-fifth of the human race? Is not the position of the Roman Empire at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. in some measure comparable to the situation of India today?

The Romans, in the early years of the Christian era, ruled over the bulk of Europe, and also over those great territories that lie to the south and east of the Mediterranean Sea. So long as the power of Rome was strong the Empire formed a cohesive whole, an efficient centralized administration watched over its vast possessions, and peace reigned within its borders. But as soon as the grip of Rome relaxed the Empire broke up into its component parts from whence, after years of chaos, sprang the nations of Europe as we know them today. Rome fell and Europe split asunder; a catastrophe that brought turmoil and war to many generations of mankind.

Let Indian statesmen ponder on these things. The future is in their hands to make or mar.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING ADDRESS

At the meeting of the Association held on Tuesday, January 18, 1944, the discussion on Professor R. Coupland's suggestions for Indian Constitutional Reform, which he outlined to the Association at its meeting on October 26, 1943, was resumed. Mr. GODFREY NICHOLSON, M.P., presided and the Lord ERSKINE, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., opened the discussion.

The CHAIRMAN said that it was unfortunate that Professor Coupland was unable to be present, as it was an extremely important meeting. Lord Erskine was well known to the members and was very well qualified to deal with the material at his hand.

Lord ERSKINE then delivered his lecture.

The CHAIRMAN said that Lord Erskine had given a sagacious and interesting address on a subject which he knew intimately and on which he felt deeply, and for which he thanked him on his own and the audience's behalf. He would quickly put his mind at rest, for he was quite sure that neither Parliament nor the people of this country had any intention of evading their responsibilities. It was gradually becoming more and more obvious to all sections of the community that the Indian problem was the most important single problem which faced this nation and Empire. For that very reason it was incumbent upon those who felt these affairs deeply to try to educate public opinion.

The great danger he saw was that the many complexities of the problem might allow what was admittedly difficult to appear almost insuperable. It was important to take one thing at a time, and he hoped that in the discussion it would be borne in

mind that there were two separate problems: the first, the short-term policy, and, secondly, the long-term policy. He would only say with regard to the short-term policy that he believed that the Secretary of State and the Government were bound to adopt a waiting attitude, and they should be chary of criticizing those who had the actual day-to-day responsibility on their shoulders. If we sincerely intended, as we did, that Indians should have a Constitution of their own choice, Indian statesmen must be given ample time in which to produce their ideas. If, as many feared, the British Government would ultimately have to draw up the future Constitution of India, it was another matter, but today they were envisaging that alternative, and he hoped speakers would confine themselves to the constitutional aspect of the question.

Sir JOHN HUBBACK said that no one could possibly disagree with the statement that everybody interested in India owed an enormous debt of gratitude to Professor Coupland, particularly for his volumes i. and ii., which were an admirable statement of the past history up to August last. Volume iii. was a much more difficult task, and again gratitude was due to Professor Coupland for his resolute and realistic facing of the problem. The first reading of volume iii. left the speaker's mind rather chaotic, but the second brought out the admirable manner in which Professor Coupland put his points. He himself was inclined to feel that he had laid too much stress on the Hindu-Muslim problem, and when he dealt with the States very much more briefly he put forward a theory that if Indian statesmen were sufficiently statesman-like to solve the problem of Hindu against Muslim they would find it an easy task to solve the problems of the States. He was not sure that that was not an under-estimation of the second problem. He thought the two things would have to be done in one because the States could not be expected to join in any unified form of government simply because the Hindus and Muslims of British India had come to some agreement as to how their problems were to be treated.

He wished to raise a point with regard to the backward tribes. There were 200 pages in Professor Coupland's third volume, only two of which dealt with the backward tribes, which comprised 12 millions of the population in British India and 13 millions in the States. Professor Coupland's solution for them was a little inhuman. He said they only wanted a few things, and what they wanted most of all was money to develop them, and that the Centre—which was very weak and limited—should provide the money. He did not see the Centre providing money in the right way or having very much interest in these 25 million citizens. Professor Coupland also stated that the Christian missions should help to solve the problem and that the people of this country should subscribe to these missions most liberally to enable them to do so. He had great respect for the missionary work among the backward tribes, and he hoped everybody who had read volume iii. would take that lesson to heart, but it was hardly the way in which to carry out our obligations to these 25 million people who had always been regarded as the particular responsibility of the British people. This responsibility was recognized in the 1935 Act and it continued. Professor Coupland also commended the proposal which originated from the ex-Governor of Assam that there should be a special arrangement for the tribes in that part of India, which meant that the remaining 20 million were left unprovided for.

Mr. A. K. PILLAI (representative of the Radical Democratic Party and the Indian Federation of Labour) said that what had interested him most was the tremendous sense of responsibility expressed by the opener of the discussion. That responsibility would not be discharged merely by holding an election after the war. Before the Indian people could enjoy self-government they must be assured of conditions in which the people themselves could exercise their voices and order their own affairs. To leave the affairs of India in "anybody's" hands would be wrong.

The English people need not be ashamed of their record in India. British rule had not been the failure it was alleged in some quarters to be. Sir Stafford Cripps's offer was the broad policy of His Majesty's Government and was a specific promise that opportunity should be given to the Indian people to frame their own Constitution, and that whatever might be their finding it would be ratified by the British Government by a treaty between the Indian people and British Parliament. The

Indian people had been offered a position of sovereign equality. Hitherto they had only had reforms through the statutes of the British Parliament, but hereafter they would have a Constitution agreed upon by the Indian people.

The so-called Constituent Assembly would not be a people's assembly, for the reason that the people would not be represented. It was a small minority which could exercise the franchise, and the votes were controlled by the financiers and industrialists, who were out of date in so far as the large human issues were concerned. They did not understand the bigger issues of the war, they were preoccupied with the smaller issues, and they had no real appreciation of freedom as such. The people who would exercise their franchise would be interested only in their private interests. They had shown that they would make money out of the hard necessities of the people, provided they could do so legally, and would oppose anything which would give the people power. It was therefore the duty of the British Parliament and people who had fought for freedom to show that freedom must be placed before everything else, and to make certain that the Indian people as a whole, and not merely a small minority, would enjoy freedom.

Those who were far away from India were likely to feel that the Muslim demand for Pakistan was the result of apprehension. This apprehension was genuine. Historically it might be due to a particular government or election, but one thing was sure, and that was the existence of a genuine apprehension by a portion of 93 million people who felt—without taking the exaggerated view of Mr. Jinnah—that they would be submerged by the overwhelming majority of Hindus. Affairs in India must be so arranged that both Hindus and Muslims and all communities should enjoy the full powers of self-government. Therefore Professor Coupland's scheme seemed to point a finger in the right direction. Thereafter they would have to think in terms of interdependence. There was no country big enough to be completely independent, and, this being so, why should India fear being rationally divided into a number of different States?

His picture of a future India would be that of a number of autonomous States and a central Government more of a confederal type, and if this were brought about he felt that the future would be assured.

In conclusion Mr. Pillai said that he was thankful that so many statesmen were giving their minds to this problem. They could not wash their hands of responsibility. The problems were 200 years old, they were of permanent interest and had been accentuated because every section of the Indian people realized that they were to be free. This was why the question was so urgent, and the British Government had a great responsibility towards them.

Sir HENRY CRAIK said that he found himself in cordial agreement with many of Professor Coupland's conclusions, but he would confine his remarks to the proposals with regard to the States. During his last two years in India he was in peculiarly close relationship with the States and had a good opportunity of judging the reactions of the Princes to the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps—reactions which, he was afraid, were not altogether happy. In fact, according to what the Princes told him, Sir Stafford Cripps caused considerable despondency and alarm by saying: "We are about to quit, and you, gentlemen, will have to deal with the Congress in future." If that remark was made it was presumably made "off the record," but it had an unfortunate effect and caused no little perturbation.

Professor Coupland's proposals in regard to the States showed that there were two courses open. If in view of the recent Congress attacks on them the States did not wish to join an all-India union, they might form a union, or more than one union, of their own with full sovereign status—that is, the full status of a Dominion. This was a possibility which was put directly by the Princes to Sir Stafford Cripps, but no explicit answer was given. The power to form such a Dominion, however, was clearly implicit in the Cripps scheme.

Professor Coupland did not like the idea of a separate States Dominion, neither did the speaker. Professor Coupland said it was difficult to justify the disruption of India on so unstable a basis of division as the clash of democratic and autocratic ideologies. The economic difficulties which a union of States would bring about,

especially with their restricted access to the sea, were stressed. Professor Coupland also thought that a States Dominion would be "a challenge to Indian nationalism," and again the speaker agreed with him. Further, he did not believe that the States could afford to run a Dominion of their own. Their finances would tend to diminish as the general pitch of taxation was lowered, as it would be under the pressure of political opinion. Financial power was now passing from the Princes and landlords to the mill-owners and cotton-brokers, passing from the country to the cities.

Dominion status would mean the end of the system of treaties between the States and the Crown, under which the States were entitled to protection. The States might not like that; in fact, it was possible that they would deplore the end of the treaty system and might prefer to retain their present status as "subordinate allies," with guarantees for the protection of their territory and dynastic sovereignty. But such protection would necessitate the presence of force to implement it, and, as Professor Coupland had pointed out, neither Indian nor British opinion would tolerate for long the employment of British troops "to suppress the growth of democratic ideas." The idea of a States union under the treaty system with anything less than the Dominion status was, indeed, outside practical politics. In fact, Professor Coupland came to the conclusion that any form of separation of the States from British India would mean that India would be trying "to live without its heart." He suggested that the new Constitution should embody guarantees for the protection of the States' territorial integrity and the perpetuation of their governments.

If the States joined the union on these lines, law and order would be preserved in the last resort either by the employment of the regional police system or by reciprocal assistance between the States, but the speaker considered that that arrangement was impractical. He ventured to criticize this part of the scheme on the ground that it showed too much tendency to treat all the States on the same lines and as if they had the same interests, which was far from being the case. The Professor thought the smaller States would gradually be absorbed (which the speaker thought was probable); but, due to their historical origins, which were very different, there was very often considerable conflict of interests between the States, and it was wrong to assume that they could all be treated alike.

Too much importance had perhaps been attached to the traditional loyalty of the people to their rulers, and Sir Henry Craik was not at all sure that this was likely to be as permanent as Professor Coupland seemed to think. The peasant, whether in a State or in British India, was very much the same. He did not regret the disappearance of a dynasty which had oppressed or overtaxed him, but he would respect any Government which would give him security. The speaker thought that the Princes would have to agree to some very far-reaching changes in their status if they were to take part in Indian development at all and, indeed, if they were to justify their own survival as Rulers.

It was very unfortunate if the Princes had gained the impression that the treaties were to be scrapped at once and they were to be left to fend for themselves, especially as they had so nobly implemented their own obligations during this war. The utmost possible must be done for their security, and, although it must be realized that in the long run the treaty system would have to disappear, the process must be a fair one. Whatever the method by which the States were to be absorbed into the general Indian polity, we must hold the ring; there must be some strong central force to see fair play for many years to come, and that was why he agreed cordially with Lord Erskine that we could not take the attitude that we were going to clear out of India and leave the various elements to settle their problems for themselves. The idea of a United Nations or States mandate was fantastic, and there was no practical alternative to the conclusion that the British must be that central force.

Mr. W. C. TUDOR OWEN said that he entirely disagreed with Professor Coupland that the problem of the Princes was an easy one. It was far and away the most difficult and could not be left to be dealt with by itself. He had been a district officer in the Bhil country and in Poona, a political agent in Kathiawar, and administrator of the model State of Bhawanagar and of Palitana for many years. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Report came out he found that it almost entirely neglected the existence

of the Chiefs who ruled about half India. He cabled to Mr. Lloyd George in 1919 a suggestion that he should come to India and preside over a round-table conference between the Chiefs and the politicians of British India. When the Simon Commission left his district (Poona) he sent Sir John Simon his paper containing this suggestion, and in the preamble of the Report there was Sir John's letter to the Prime Minister recommending a meeting between these two elements. The Cabinet approved, and the Round-Table Conference was held. He suggested that adjoining slabs of British India should be handed back to the Princes to rule, provided they introduced a constitutional form of government like that in England, composed of elements of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy; power to rest for a period in the Upper House till the electorates, based on trades and professions, had been trained and new political parties with new slogans had been evolved in place of religious feuds. The five big cities were to be city state republics with elected presidents; at the centre a House of Chiefs and Presidents, who would jointly choose a High Commissioner for all India. Freedom from inter-statal turmoil and external aggression would be furnished by the Global Air Police Force under the orders of a Global Proconsul for the East, appointed by the Big Four, the executive committee of the Liberty League of Nations—the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Great Britain, China—with power to co-opt for a period.

Mr. JAYA DEVA said that when he read the three volumes of Professor Coupland's book he realized for the first time how complicated and insoluble the problem of India was. He had always thought the problem was straightforward as long as it was honestly approached, but the more he read books, the more he found that problems became needlessly complicated. The Professor divided his solution into four parts, but these did not lead to what was desired in India, which was the political unification of the people, the economic development of the country, harmonious well-balanced development of industry, and, above all, the cultural development. All these things would not be furthered under this scheme. India could be as easily divided into ten different parts as into four. Lord Erskine spoke of the break-up of the Roman Empire and appealed to Indian leaders to take warning. His reading of Roman history told him that the reason for the break-up was the failure of the Roman Government to give more and more self-government to the people living in the periphery of the Empire, and the failure of economic development in those countries.

Mr. J. P. BRANDER said the Coupland scheme seemed an academic one. No interest had been taken or comment made regarding it in India, and the absence of practicability in it was demonstrated by Lord Hailey's remarks about its three-decker Constitution. Certainly the Hindus would not favour any such weakening of the Centre, nor would the Muslim League favour the scheme, because Professor Coupland stipulated that there should be no regional military forces. It was not based upon the past history of India, her territorial divisions, and the constitutional arrangements of the last two or three decades. It was a waste of effort, he thought, for people to go out from this country lacking long local knowledge of India and propound schemes not so based.

What, then, was the solution? The Hindus would certainly not agree to Pakistan because it put Hindu India at the mercy of the martial Muslims of India and of the trans-frontier powers and tribes. Also people had realized from recent events that an undivided India and a strong Centre were essential. On the other hand, the Muslims would not agree to a Constitution which put them into an inferior position to the Hindus. The scheme seemed quite impracticable because the Muslims would never trust a constituent assembly elected in the usual way. These elections would be manipulated and Congress would deceive the electors again, as it did in 1935. The Hindus vastly outnumbered the Muslims, but, on the other hand, the Muslims were the main fighting race. Thus there was a complete impasse. There was another point, which affected the proposals of His Majesty's Government. Even Dominion status was an impossible ideal, and this would be realized from a perusal of Lord Hailey's Romanes Lecture in 1941, where he pointed out that one of the essentials of

Dominion status was that a Dominion could change its Constitution, and this was important where often the crucial issue in framing a Constitution was the protection of the interests of minorities. The Muslims, the Scheduled Castes, and the Princes would certainly not agree to trust the Hindu or Congress majority in this matter. Professor Coupland said India would have to be trusted. But Eire broke her treaty pledges, as Mr. Churchill once pointed out.

It was unlikely that Western Parliamentary democracy would work in India; it would produce too weak an executive. We had an example in our own constitutional history. In Lancastrian times there was a premature development of parliamentary government. It proved too weak and had to be replaced by the strong Tudor executive government. There was no possibility of the races or communities in India agreeing upon the framing of any Constitution, and Lord Erskine's citation of the efficiency of the Roman Empire was very much to the point in this connection. If they looked at Russia and China it would be seen that a strong executive government, if not a ruthless one, was probably necessary for such huge territories and India.

Climate, geography, and the social system were the real determinants of the political framework of any country. The exhausting climate of India, malaria, and the social system had brought about the degeneracy of each successive invading and settling race, so that the governance had been taken over again and again by fresh vigorous incomers. The Viceroy in 1929 said modern India was really a creation of British physique, character, brains, enterprise, and capital. At present the British element in administration was the only cement holding India together. In whatever Constitution might be devised, it would have to be retained as the final arbiter in the inevitable clashes of interest between the various communities. If that element were eliminated or weakened too much, or if India left the Empire, we might be sure that some foreign nation would sooner or later take over India, urged by the congenial ideals of ending chaos, and promoting its own ideology and material interests.

Mr. CHINNA DURAI said the one essential condition for a satisfactory solution of the Indian problem was that there must be common agreement between all the peoples of India. Democracy on Western lines was the aspiration of India. Democracy was understood to be government of the people, by the people, for the people, but when they thought of that in India one was inclined to ask: "What people?" Even when this maxim was applied to just Hindus alone one was still inclined to ask: "Which Hindus—the caste Hindus or the Untouchables—Congress, Moderates, or the Mahasabha?" And that was why he felt the first condition of whatever form of government was proposed must be agreement between the people, and that was why he said that the work lay very much more in India than in this country.

One other point which he found Professor Coupland had taken for granted, and also most of the speakers in the discussion, was the permanence of the Muslims and Congress as parties, and the schemes, therefore, for reforms had been proposed without regard to their fluctuating nature. If one section or another decided to throw in their lot with the Muslims—for instance, the 60 million Untouchables, owing to their grievances against orthodox Hindus it was quite possible that the Hindu majority would be very much reduced. These things had to be considered, and that was why he said that the best which could be done was just speculation, and, although he appreciated that Britain should face her responsibilities, some device had necessarily to be found by which Indians could be made to realize their full responsibility and act up to it.

Admiral Sir HERBERT FITZHERBERT said that all agreed that in one way or another the present approach to this problem had resolved itself into a deadlock between the Muslim and Hindu communities, and it would appear to be worth while thinking out a new line. The crux of the problem was the method of approach, and if the right method could be found the solution might also be found. The endeavour to solve the inter-communal trouble had failed hopelessly, but there were two avenues which he considered to be of enormous importance. The first was the position which India was likely to hold in the post-war world. What did the Indians want the India

of the future to become in relation to the other nations of the world? The point about exploring that avenue was that it was to the interest of every single Indian to decide the part which his country would play in the international world of the post-war years. If the Indians could be induced to discuss this amongst themselves and with the British, it might be that the inter-communal problem would automatically fall into line.

Then there was the avenue of defence. This was of enormous importance to India in her post-war existence. Could they not approach India's future from the defence aspect and discuss with leading Indians what they proposed to do in order to enable India to stand on her own defence feet? If this problem could be discussed it might help with the other problems.

The CHAIRMAN hoped that the meeting would not be depressed by the great variety of opinions which had been expressed. He hoped, too, that they would not approach the problem with the idea that if only they were clever enough to find it there was some magic solution waiting round the corner. In the long run the future of India depended, not upon political theorizing, but upon realities—that was, upon those factors which directly affect the actual survival of the inhabitants. We must never forget that our fundamental responsibility was for the lives of the peoples of India. The only true solution must lie in the spirit of understanding, not only between Britain and India, but between Indians and Indians, and it was a step forward to that end that Indian affairs could be discussed in a friendly and sympathetic spirit, even though no common measure of agreement emerged to start with.

LORD ERSKINE, in reply, said his remarks were merely intended to reopen the debate on Professor Coupland's book, and the winding-up speech should really be made by the author.

He was sorry to hear from Sir John Hubback of Professor Coupland's idea that the backward tribes should be financed and looked after by the Central Government. He knew that such a measure would be most unpopular with the provincial administrations, who regarded these tribes as a special responsibility of their own; and rightly so. Madras, for instance, would never give up the Todas; nor could the Centre prove an adequate substitute for a local government which was well aware of the peculiar conditions. In fact, he would regard the proposed alteration in control as being quite disastrous.

He agreed with Mr. Pillai that the British could not supinely give up their responsibility for the well-being of the many minorities, and he had always failed to understand how the establishment of Pakistan could help the millions of Muslims who would be left in the Hindu portion of India. It would seem that under the Pakistan scheme these people would simply be abandoned by their co-religionists. Personally he saw no advantage in large Muslim areas cutting themselves off from the rest of India and thus becoming quite unable to use their protective influence in the Hindu areas.

That was why he had made the point in his speech that there would have to be some functionary in each Province with power to protect minorities. One of the main difficulties of India was that peoples did not live in watertight compartments. India was a mosaic of races and creeds. If each race and religion lived together, how easy the whole problem would be!

Sir Henry Craik had put a point of view about which many of those present did not know very much. The problems of the States were not widely understood. He did, however, rather cavil at Sir Henry's remark that there was no great feeling of loyalty for their Rulers in the States. Personally he could only speak for the Hindu States in South India, which were very well governed. But anybody who had had the advantage of attending the *Dhassara*, or the birthday festivities, in Mysore during the time of that true saint, the late Maharaja, could have seen with his own eyes the veneration that was paid to that Prince.

Mr. Tudor Owen had returned to the idea of establishing greater areas of India under princely rule. That might have been possible fifty years ago, and there was, of course, a considerable controversy as to whether the policy of the so-called "evanescent Viceroys" was right. It might well be that if there were no more

Indian States the present political difficulties might not be so great. But in his view the population of British India would certainly not now favour a return to princely rule.

Mr. Jaya Deva had questioned the accuracy of the comparison he had drawn between the fall of the Roman Empire and the withdrawal of British rule in India. Of course, there were immense differences between the two situations. Rome fell through foreign conquest, while the removal of British power in India was purely voluntary and in accordance with our policy of leading the peoples of India to full self-government. But there was no doubt that in its time the Roman Empire did keep the peace and that when it broke up everything went to ruin.

Mr. Brander did not like the three-decker Constitution; in fact, he did not seem to like the ideas advocated in Professor Coupland's book at all. Personally he agreed that the proposed regions were unnecessary. For instance, the Madras Presidency was quite big enough to look after itself. None of the great Provinces would want a region between themselves and the Centre. So long as an agreement was reached between the great communities to share power at the Centre there were plenty of simpler methods of achieving equality in representation than by setting up regions. He would, for instance, draw attention to the Constitution of the United States, in which every State, whether it was big or small, either in area or population, sent the same number of Senators to Washington. An agreement to share power was the essential thing. Once that had been achieved the machinery to produce the equality of numbers would not be difficult.

He agreed with the general statement made by Mr. Chinna Durai that we could go no further than the greatest common measure of agreement. That was so, and it was general agreement that they had been trying to get for many years. Unfortunately, at the moment the trouble was that there did not seem to be any agreement at all about anything. However, it was the task of the British to go on trying. It would be disgraceful for the British to clear out and leave India in chaos.

Sir GILBERT WILES proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the opener of the discussion, which was accorded by applause.

THE UNTOUCHABLES ON THE MOVE

BY R. R. BHOLE, M.L.A.(BOMBAY)

IN India the Scheduled Castes—commonly known as the Untouchables—form the third largest group. Their number, according to the 1941 census, is almost 50 millions. The pernicious system of untouchability appears to have originated in very ancient times. Studying the clues of antiquity which exist in this matter, it appears that the Mahars, the Mallas, the Parvars, the Pariahas—now the Scheduled Castes—were the original inhabitants of India. These were the foemen whom the Aryans first encountered. The Mahars and Mallas as a nation are repeatedly mentioned in the Mahabharata, Hari-vamsha, Puranas and other Hindu scriptures. The connection of Lord Buddha with the Mallas of Kusinagara and his death amongst them is significant. Alexander the Great, while attacking their city, was severely wounded by them. The bearers of the name were once prosperous and wielded power. Their wheel of fortune turned and the star of the Mahars sank beneath the horizon. The Aryan invaders showed little sympathy with the vanquished. The Brahmenical supremacy deprived them of their independence.

They are now treated by many as if they were of less account than dogs. They are a suppressed and a downtrodden people. Their lot is very miserable because Hinduism gives them no opportunity and no hope to rise to full manhood. The Hindu religion explains the Untouchable's misery by stating that he is expiating his sins of former lives. The caste system decides his destiny and makes him a perpetual slave. Hinduism does not believe in democracy, equality and fraternity. Inequality is the official doctrine of the religion.

The unfortunate member of the Scheduled Castes suffers from great social injustices and greater handicaps. He cannot draw water from a public well. He is not admitted to a general public school. He is not allowed to walk in the roads of his village. The women are forbidden to wear nice costumes or gold ornaments. Ordinary trade is closed to him. He cannot make much display, even on ceremonial occasions. There are instances when he has been assaulted by Hindus because he served ghce to his guests and allowed his women folk to carry water in metal pots. There are instances where the villagers have assaulted the Scheduled Castes because they have dared to send their children to school and allowed their women to wear fancy jackets and saris. Any action of a Depressed Class man contrary to the customary code of his status is visited by the wrath of the whole village where he resides. His life, which is one incessant struggle for the acquisition of the rights of a human being, is a constant challenge to the majority which denies him these rights. The result is that he is in constant antagonism to Hindus. This is not all. When he is subjected to tyrannies the arm of police or of the magistracy seldom comes to his rescue. On the contrary, it works in league with the majority to his detriment—and the poor man is dragged into further trouble.

SEGREGATION

And where do the Untouchables live? The constitution of an Indian village throws them into an abyss of economic and social dependence. It shackles them lest they become self-conscious and assert the rights of ordinary human beings. There are over 700,000 Hindu villages in India; the Scheduled Castes are relegated to the outskirts of the village, where they have neither opportunity nor hope of obtaining social services. They are economically without any resources; they are invariably landless labourers and therefore dependent for their existence on the Hindus of the village. If they attempt to assert their elementary rights they are overwhelmed by the numerically far larger number of the villagers; they are boycotted and nobody employs them; no shopkeeper sells them the necessities of life; and many a time they are falsely involved in some criminal charge. The Untouchables are simply helpless; they cannot offer any resistance to the oppressive acts of caste Hindus under the cloak of their religion.

What divides the Untouchables from the Hindus is the hoary tradition of antipathy and antagonism. The constitution of the Indian village sustains their slavery perpetually. The Hindu is as alien to a Scheduled Caste as to an Englishman. The latter is neutral, but the Hindu is openly partial to his own caste and antagonistic to those below. How can the Scheduled Castes be reasonably asked to trust the Hindus to look after their interests when they are convinced that the Hindus are opposed to them? The Hindus, by reason of the sanction of their religion, are not ashamed to practise inhumanity against the Untouchables. Mr. Gandhi, the Congress and the Hindus suggest they can solve the problem through Hindus elected in the legislature, through Hindus in the executive, judiciary and public and security services. Congress is a body of middle-class Hindus dominated by rich Indians. It was not an accident that all the Prime Ministers of Congress Provinces were Brahmins. In only one Congress Province was a Scheduled Caste man a Minister. In every non-Congress Province there was one, and sometimes two. No measure was passed in Congress Provinces to ameliorate the disabilities of the Scheduled Castes. The Congress wants power to *rule* all; it would indeed be the power of traditional Hinduism.

THE CLAIMS OF THE COMMUNITY

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, an Untouchable himself, is fighting for the freedom of his people. The Scheduled Castes are solidly behind him. They demand recognition as distinct and separate from the Hindus and constituting an important element in the national life of India. They ask for provision to be made in the Constitution for securing representation of the Scheduled Castes in all high offices, executive, judiciary and public and security services, the legislatures and local bodies and the public service commissions, in accordance with their number, need and importance. They ask for real separate electorates. They ask that an adequate amount, declared to be the first charge on the revenues of the State, should be allotted in budgets to provide for their primary and higher education. They ask that the Constitution should provide for the transfer of the Scheduled Castes from their present habitation to separate settlements and villages, away from and independent of the Hindu villages.

These demands are naturally opposed by Hindus and Mr. Gandhi, with tenacity. The Press is theirs and systematically misrepresents the case. The Scheduled Castes are poor and therefore dumb.

Their plea for a legislature to represent the Hindus and Scheduled Castes separately is called "communal." Their appeal for an executive responsible to a legislature of Hindus and Scheduled Castes is called "anti-national." Their demand for an administration to be worthy of trust by Scheduled Castes is also called "communal." So exasperated have the Congress and the Hindus become by these demands that they forget how generous the Scheduled Castes were in consenting to be ruled by Hindus in return for safeguards. The Hindus may be reminded what Sir Edward Carson, the leader of the Protestant minority in Ulster, said to Mr. Redmond when they were negotiating for a United Ireland. Redmond promised Carson to grant all safeguards he wanted and Carson's reply was curt and brutal: "Damn your safeguards. I don't want to be ruled by you."

ANALOGY FROM ANCIENT ROME

The Scheduled Castes ask that the Constitution should provide effective safeguards. They cease to have any faith in a "gentlemen's agreement." They had very bitter experience of the gentlemen's agreement after the Round-Table Conference in the Poona Pact, when they were induced to agree to joint electorates after a first ballot. This time they insist that the safeguards should be in black and white. The Constitution of a country has its existence in the actual condition of forces which exists there. The new Constitution must take note of the social problems in India. The operations of social forces are not confined to the social field; they pervade the political field also. The Constitution of Republican Rome took account of the social divisions between the patricians and plebeians. When the kingship in Rome was abolished the kingly power, "Imperium," was divided between the Consuls and Pontifex Maximus. Consuls had secular authority and the Pontifex Maximus had religious authority. Of the two Consuls, one was a patrician and the other a plebeian; of the priests, half were patricians and half plebeians. Why did the Republican Constitution of Rome provide these safeguards for the plebeians? The only answer one can get is that the Constitution was compelled to take account of the social division between the patricians and plebeians. What is the significance of the Communal Award? The politicians of India who denied that the social problem had any bearing on the political problem were forced to reckon with the social forces in helping to shape the Indian Constitution.

ELECTION RESULTS

The Scheduled Castes are convinced that the solution will lie in the fulfilment of their demands. There are many forces which are against them; the strongest are Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Party with press and propaganda under their control. They are the greatest opponents of the Untouchables' fight for freedom. They proclaim to the world that theirs is a national body which represents Hindus,

tests to determine the issue—the first, membership; and the second, election results. The Congress has a register of membership, and how many of the Scheduled Castes members could be found thereon? There may be a few who are employees of some Congress capitalists and who are enrolled at their cost to fight their election to a Congress office! There is none who has volunteered to be one.

The Congress and some others have relied upon the second test for its claim to represent the Scheduled Castes. Taking the results of the 1937 election to the Provincial Assemblies, the Congress was predominantly successful in capturing the Scheduled Caste seats in Madras and Bihar. They were partially successful in the Central Provinces and Orissa. They failed miserably in Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam. Does this prove that they represent the Scheduled Castes of India? Does it even prove that the Congress Party represents the Scheduled Castes in those Provinces where it was predominantly successful? Can the Congress representative who is returned in the joint electorate be treated as a real representative of the Scheduled Castes? Any person who is conversant with the intricacies of the Indian electoral system will answer in the negative. The test is by whose votes he is elected. If he is elected by the majority of the Scheduled Caste voters, he will be their true representative. If he is elected by Hindus who are opposed to the interests of Scheduled Castes, he will inevitably be their representative.

The system of election applicable to the Scheduled Castes is that of joint electorate and reserved seats. Under this system the voters in the constituency consist of Hindus and Scheduled Castes. The Hindu voters are always predominantly in the majority and the Scheduled Castes are in a hopeless minority. In Madras the Hindu voters were 5,553,350 and the Scheduled Caste voters 393,800; the corresponding figures in Bihar are 2,010,664 and 64,897; in Bombay, 2,021,234 and 100,748; in Bengal, 2,811,635 and 821,119. This contrast is found in every Province and in every constituency. The result is that in a contest such an overwhelming majority must dictate the results of the election.

The Congress captured these seats as the result of a bad electoral system. It is thus clear that the second test also fails to prove the representative character of the Congress. It is a gross misrepresentation of facts when the Congress or the Nationalist Press controlled by high-caste rich Indians say that Congress is a body which also represents the Scheduled Castes. Mr. Gandhi, who is proud of the religion which insists that a son should follow the calling of his father and whose official doctrine is inequality, vehemently opposed the demands of the Scheduled Castes at the Round-Table Conference. The Scheduled Castes won and the Communal Award was the result of the contest. Its great virtue lies in the fact that the Scheduled Castes were recognized in the national life of India and were entitled to separate political rights; but these were whittled down by the Poona Pact. The Congress and Hindus want to get all power to themselves; they have no desire to share the power with representatives of minorities. They are not prepared to base their political institutions on the principle of justice. This attitude is the tragic feature of Indian politics today.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The British attitude is halting and sometimes perplexing. They want to remain on the right side of the Hindus and are reluctant to do anything for the Scheduled Castes, however just it may be, if it is calculated to offend the Hindus. During the rule of the East India Company the Indian Army mostly consisted of Scheduled Castes. The Hindu princes did not employ them because of prejudices against them. It is not twisting facts to say that the British conquered India with the army of the Scheduled Castes. The death blow to the Mahratta power was given by the Mahars at the famous battle of Koregaon near Poona in 1818. There stands a monument in honour of these valiant Mahar soldiers who died fighting for the British. And what has the British reward been? They stopped recruitment for these brave people in 1892, declaring them non-martial. This non-martial class again became martial in the last war, only to be disbanded after victory. They are again martial in this war: thousands of these Scheduled Castes are fighting today for the cause of freedom.

Opportunity for acquiring literacy has been denied to the Scheduled Castes until

recently, because the British were unwilling to interfere with the prejudices of ages in a summary manner. And H.M. Government, in the Cripps proposals, proclaimed that the consent of Hindus and Muslims is enough for giving effect to the Constitutional changes. This unjust act on the part of H.M. Government cannot but provoke resentment in the minds of the Scheduled Castes. According to those proposals the Communal composition of the Constituent Assembly in a House of 158+40 (British India and Indian States), at least 100 will be Hindus, 62 Muslims and only 15 Scheduled Castes. Even this number depends on these Castes not being cheated in the first round. The Hindus will try to use the joint electoral system and proportionate representation to their advantage. The Constitutional issues about the safeguards to minorities will be decided by the majority in the Assembly. The Scheduled Castes are thus thrown to the wolves. They demand that in certain spheres, which they consider to be vital and fundamental to their existence, the rule of the majority must not operate and the minority must decide for themselves. They desire to be assured of part and place in the State. The rule of the majority will mean a country of Hindus with serfdom of Untouchables.

The Scheduled Castes are struggling for liberty in this Indian turmoil. Their cause is the cause of freedom. The cause of the Hindus and Muslims is not the cause of freedom; it is a struggle for power. Yet nobody seems to be aware of the Untouchables or ready to espouse their cause. Has the British Labour Party ever championed them? Indeed, many of the Party have done what a lover of freedom would not do. They have identified themselves with the Hindu body without examining whether that side is just or not. Do they ask the Hindus what they stand for? If it is for power, are they justified in helping them? The question is very pertinent because the Hindu tenets are incompatible with liberty, equality and fraternity. If all people need be subjected to checks and balances, how much more must it be so in the case of the Hindus?

The Untouchable is not a fallen man; he is a suppressed man. If there is a people who need the support of the freedom-loving nations, it is undoubtedly the Untouchables of India. Their cause is just; they will be victorious; they will again have a glorious share in the life of India.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Friday, January 28, 1944, with Mr. P. J. Griffiths, C.I.E., M.L.A.(CENTRAL), in the Chair. Mr. Rajaram R. Bhole, M.L.A.(BOMBAY), read a paper entitled "The Untouchables on the Move."

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said that the primary purpose of Mr. Bhole's visit to this country was to speak about India's war effort, but the logical connection between the freedom for which we were fighting in this war and the freedom for which Mr. Bhole was fighting was so close as to make it appropriate that he should speak on the subject of the Scheduled Castes. In India Mr. Bhole was well known not only for his progressive views, but for the reasonable manner in which he supported them. He was the youngest member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, and his presence here was a happy augury for the future of those Scheduled Castes. Mr. Bhole and himself had much in common, for both of them belonged to Indian Legislatures, and both had to try to represent the interests of a particular community. They also had to try to combine the interests of that community with the larger interests of the whole country, and it was because of Mr. Bhole's success in effecting that combination that he was particularly glad to introduce him to the meeting.

Mr. Bhole then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN said he was reluctant to open the discussion because he realized that not only could he not bring to bear upon this subject the depth of knowledge which Mr. Bhole possessed, but also that anything said by an Englishman might well exacerbate the bitterness which already existed and might make the position rather worse than better.

It was extremely difficult for people in this country to take a balanced view of the whole question of caste. When the average European went to India he began by being shocked at the existence of the caste system. It seemed to him to be an unduly rigid stratification of society, to bar the way to progress, and to place great obstacles in the rise of the talented individual to success and position. The early reaction of the young Britisher in India was therefore a feeling that the caste system in India was a bad thing, but as the years went by and he watched it at work he became less sure that his early conclusion was justifiable. He soon realized that it was something in remote, undeveloped village life to have such a definition of people's status that disputes on that head were ruled out, and he began to realize also that in an agricultural community, where the opportunities for men to strike out along new lines are few and far between, the bar which the caste system may present to a man taking up this or that life is nothing like as serious as it would be in a more highly industrialized or developed community. The caste system carried out a social discipline; it applied a sanction for enforcing moral law in distant villages where there would otherwise be no means of preserving it. The young Englishman therefore began to think that perhaps the caste system was not so bad after all, that it served as a cement to hold India socially together, and that it had, perhaps, a great part to play until the day came when Indian Nationalism could provide a fresh cement. The question, therefore, as to whether the young Englishman serving in India ultimately looked with approval or disapproval upon the caste system very largely depended on his type of mind, whether he attached more importance to progress on the one hand or to stability on the other.

But though an Englishman might look with a kindly eye upon the caste system in general, he did not believe that anyone whose mind was progressive in the modern sense could look with approval upon the extreme forms of the caste system which were summed up in the word "Untouchability." We knew that the existence of Untouchability could be defended in terms of certain schools of Hindu philosophy, but we also knew that the caste system in its extreme forms was an excrescence upon Hinduism and was not to be found in the earlier and less harsh forms of Hinduism 2,000 to 3,000 years ago. Having reached the stage where India was about to enter upon self-government, people in England were naturally concerned to know whether these extremes still existed or whether they were in fact breaking down. This was a question to which it was not altogether easy to give a fair answer, because by all theoretical considerations they should be breaking down. It could be argued that the influence of a common law had been at work for 200 years, that, whatever the caste of a man, he was brought before the same court and tried by the same law, and it might have been expected, on the analogy of what had happened in other parts of the world, that that common influence would have had an effect on the worst and most extreme forms of caste distinction. Then, too, it could have been said that the necessities of travel might have smoothed out some of the worst features of the system. Again, common employment in Government service and other capacities might also have been expected to exercise a levelling influence. So it had to a certain extent, but even in Government service extraordinary situations sometimes arose from the fact that men of different castes were working together, with sometimes a low-caste man in a higher position than the high-caste man. He had more than once seen a sub-inspector of police belonging to a Scheduled Caste meet a Brahmin constable. The Brahmin constable began by saluting the inspector, and the inspector had finished by taking the dust off the constable's feet. So that, although the influence of common employment, of law, and travel had begun to weaken the caste system, or at any rate the extreme forms of the system, it had not gone the whole way.

In recent years these ameliorative influences had been reinforced by the work of a

great many Indian reformers who had fought hard for a levelling up of Hindu society, but their efforts had not met with 100 per cent. success. It was very easy to take a more optimistic view of this position than the actual facts justified. He remembered reading not long ago a statement made in 1814 by William Ward, a Baptist missionary associated with Carey. He tried to take a bright view of the situation and said that, with the Western influences which were being brought to bear upon things now, with the influence of a common law and a common government, he could see signs of the caste system breaking down, Untouchability disappearing, and within a few years, he believed, these features of Indian life would have gone. That was in 1814, and the arguments on the strength of which that intelligent missionary persuaded himself that the system was disappearing were very much the same arguments which many might use today in their more optimistic moments.

It was no use pretending that this problem would resolve itself in some easy way or that it had disappeared. In many parts of India it had hardly begun to disappear. All those present had heard the words "Untouchables" and "Unapproachables," but there were still districts in India where there were the "Unseccables," people who must not be seen because the sight of them would cause pollution. It was recorded as late as 1931 by the officer conducting the census of Tinnevely that he had the greatest difficulty in persuading men belonging to those "Unseccable" castes to come out into the light of day for enumeration.

To get a balanced view, therefore, things must not be thought to be moving faster than they really were. The process was a long one, and there were many parts of India in which the darker features of the caste system still remained. It was because progress was so slow that the All-India Conference which assembled in 1927 was so worried about the whole problem and spoke in such emphatic terms of the need for hastening the process. There were still nearly 50 million people in India who either needed protection or, at any rate, felt themselves to be so different from their fellow-Hindus that they needed protection; and when new constitutions were being framed it was not so much whether a particular community would in fact suffer injustice, but whether it was afraid of suffering injustice, that mattered. So long as there were these 50 million people who were afraid of injustice unless they could secure a special position in the new Constitution it was clear that those who formed the Constituent Assembly in a few years' time would not have an easy time. It would be noted that he had said "Constituent Assembly" instead of "British Government." After all, the Cripps offer, which still stood in principle, meant that the Constitution of India was to be framed, not in London, but in India, so that the first forum in which the Scheduled Castes would need to establish their rights would be the Constituent Assembly. It would be for them to persuade Hindus of higher castes that they did need protection, and the stability and tranquillity of a self-governing India would largely depend upon the success of the higher castes of Hindus in making the Scheduled Castes feel safe.

Mr. Bhole had said in his address that the British attitude was halting and sometimes perplexing. It might well be so, for what was the British position? The British Government had said that India was to govern herself and to frame her own Constitution, and at the same time various groups said that they could not be left to look after themselves, that India could not be left to frame her own Constitution and that the British must secure the protection which these groups believed to be necessary. In such circumstances a British attitude of hesitation was understandable. The next move would rest with the Constituent Assembly, and the most important work for Mr. Bhole and his friends was to persuade Hindus of higher castes that their reputation in the world would largely depend on their success in satisfying the Scheduled Castes that under the new Constitution they would receive justice and protection and be assured of a fair place in the new national polity of India.

Brigadier J. G. SMYTH, V.C., speaking from a purely military point of view, said that from his own experience with Indian troops, both in this war and the last, no one who served with the Indian Corps in France and other theatres of war was not filled with a sincere admiration for the work in the field of the Scheduled Castes. At the end of the last war, in Bombay as brigade major, he saw a good deal of the 111th

Mahars, a newly raised battalion on a somewhat experimental basis which he thought was turning out extraordinarily well. Unfortunately, that battalion, with the other Mahar units, was disbanded when the Indian Army was reduced. During the present war very heavy demands had been made on the Scheduled Castes. He had seen a good deal of what they had done; they had been depended upon to a very high degree and had answered all the calls made upon them. As an officer of a Sikh battalion, the particular caste he knew best was the Musbi Sikh, who had a great reputation for devotion to duty and reliability in any theatre of war in which he had been employed. The question of the Scheduled Castes deserved not only sympathy but active support.

Mr. J. C. POWELL-PRICE spoke of the educational position with regard to the Scheduled Castes. It was obvious that in South India the position was very much worse than it was in the Northern Provinces. He believed that the shutting out of Scheduled Caste children from the public schools no longer existed. When he went out to India over thirty years ago he remembered that even in the United Provinces villages one would find a group in a corner or on the verandah, but for many years now there had been nothing of the kind. In fact, the great majority of the Scheduled Caste children attended the public schools, and it had been the definite policy to encourage them to do so because, as everyone knew, there was a terrible waste in the segregated schools.

About ten years ago in the United Provinces a special department was set apart for the supervision of the education of the children of the depressed classes, and a separate educational budget was devoted to their needs. A large sum of money had been spent entirely on the education of the depressed classes, but it had not yet had the result which was hoped for. In the United Provinces the proportion of the depressed and backward classes was nearly a quarter of the whole population. There was another almost equal proportion of landless labourers, and the result was that only 6 per cent. of available children attended the schools. It was generally recognized that the school population between six and eleven years of age was about 12 per cent. of the total population, so that only 50 per cent. of available children of all castes were in school.

Those who did not go to school were those who could not afford to do so because their labour brought in a certain amount to the family budget. The recent famine in Bengal had shown how very close to starvation large numbers of the population of India were still. Therefore it was very hard to get the children of the very poor (and the depressed classes were terribly poor) to school.

The United Provinces Government had tried to deal with the problem by giving stipends; education for the depressed classes was entirely free up to the vernacular middle standard—that is, up to the age of fifteen—and there was no difficulty about their getting into schools. Most of the Anglo-vernacular schools took them free up to the Intermediate and all Government institutions. There was, however, difficulty in getting their parents to release them to attend the schools. Since the special department had been set up there had been a large increase in the numbers attending school among the depressed classes, but it was still painfully small, only 1 per cent. of children among these classes being actually in school.

Of the other classes he did not believe that the figure of 6 per cent. attending school would be very much increased until there was a change in the economic condition of the people. He had often been reproached on the ground of the failure of education in India, but he had always replied that it was not the failure of education, it was the failure of the Government to deal with the economic position. He believed that the uplift of the depressed classes would have to be an economic uplift.

Mr. ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE said that his first impulse on reading the paper was to think that as far as the Deccan was concerned it was an overdrawn picture as to the strained relations between the general agricultural population and the depressed classes, but on listening to the Chairman's remarks he felt he might have to revise his opinion. Apparently the evils of Untouchability did exist in some parts of India in full force. In the Deccan no one could call the Mahars a depressed class. They might be "Untouchable," but there was nothing depressed about them; they were good,

upstanding, respectable citizens of the community, and between the cultivator and the Mahar there was no bitter antagonism apart from the abominable feature of Untouchability.

He remembered, when he was Assistant Collector in Bombay forty years ago, dealing with more than one case in which a considerable amount of property was in dispute, and the disputants found no more suitable person as stakeholder than the village Mahar, for the reason that he could be trusted to return the property. His word was as good as his bond. That was a high tribute to the character of the Mahar and an indication of the opinion in which he was held. The Mahar was an organic part of the village community, and from the point of view of the Untouchable classes in Bombay that was the best political approach. The conflict of interests was not between Hindu and Untouchable (in many ways the Untouchable was part of the Hindu community), but between one particular party—the literate urban Hindu—and the agricultural part of India. A speaker at the last meeting suggested that the best line for the Muslims and for those for whom he was speaking was to realize that from the point of view of politics they ought to come together as one party and to realize that they had an essential unity of interests as opposed to the high-caste Hindus, and it seemed, at least in the Bombay Presidency, that the best approach for the depressed classes was for them to realize that their interests were the same as the rest of the agricultural community of Bombay.

From the British point of view it was extremely important that it should be made clear that we had an interest in seeing that whatever Constitution was framed for India the depressed classes had some security for their rights. Any failure on our part in this respect might well have considerable effect on American opinion.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD said that Mr. Bhole had painted a very black picture of the position of the depressed classes. He was, however, glad to be able to say that the picture of the Scheduled Castes in Bengal was not so black, for in that Province their position was considerably better than in Western and Southern India.

In Bengal the large majority did not live on the outskirts of villages; they lived in their own villages, cultivated the land exactly as other cultivators, and possessed the same rights in the land they held.

With regard to temple entry, only a small proportion of the 9 millions of Scheduled Castes in Bengal were prohibited from entering the important temples at Kalighat, at Calcutta, and at Tarakeswar on the Hoogli River. Again, untouchability by mere propinquity was unknown in the Province. Untouchability by touch certainly existed, but in that matter one could record an improvement during the last thirty years. For instance, in the Legislative Council, the predecessor of the present Legislative Assembly, there were a number of members who were Namasudaras—that is, Untouchables—probably descendants of the old aboriginals of Bengal, and these members sat side by side with the caste Hindus. Taboos with regard to food and drink also existed, but here also they were becoming less pronounced outside purely religious ceremonies.

With regard to schools, with perhaps a few exceptions in certain limited areas, the Scheduled Castes had no difficulty in obtaining admission of their children to the public schools. Indeed, twenty years ago the Calcutta University Commission came to the conclusion that the children of the Scheduled Castes had no difficulty in obtaining admission to schools. In Western Bengal there had been instances where the children of the lowest castes had gone through not only the primary course, but the higher courses of education.

Disabilities with regard to the use of wells had not entirely disappeared, but where they still persisted they were applicable only to the lowest castes; in the greater part of the Province there was little discrimination against the vast majority of the Scheduled Castes.

Although the position of the Scheduled Castes in Bengal was better than in other parts of India, he did not wish to suggest that they had reached a position of complete equality with the caste Hindus; they still suffered under disabilities. He also felt sure that many leaders of Hindu opinion deplored the existence of these disabilities. Although he did not agree with many of Mr. Gandhi's views, still he thought the

Mahatma was honest and sincere in his endeavours to improve the position of the Scheduled Castes. Many caste Hindus sincerely desired that these disabilities should be removed, and looked upon their existence as a stain on Hinduism. He feared, however, that progress was bound to be slow in the areas where disabilities were serious; the forces of tradition and religion were strong, and it was too much to hope that the disabilities would be removed in a day. He trusted, however, that as the years went by progress would become more rapid and that perhaps the day was not far distant when the Scheduled Castes would be free from these degrading disabilities and free from the stigma which these disabilities inevitably imposed.

Sir MALCOLM DARLING assured Mr. Bhole of his whole-hearted sympathy with his point of view. His paper was a forceful expression of the disabilities from which his community suffered, and they could hardly have had a more eloquent champion than Mr. Bhole. It was, however, very difficult for his audience to feel as strongly as he did, for the simple reason that they had not suffered as he and his community had in some parts of India. He must, moreover, agree with what the Chairman said about the difficulty of an Englishman speaking about this matter.

In the Punjab, the Province he knew best, the attitude towards the depressed classes was very much what Sir John Woodhead had described in Bengal, but he had met cases which made him wonder how long this kind of thing could last and why it had arisen. This was an important point which had not been touched upon so far. He would give an example of what he thought might have led to Untouchability.

Once when he was in camp in a district not far from Delhi his sub-inspector brought to his tent the members of a newly formed co-operative society which he was anxious to have inspected. The speaker found that the society had two rules—one, to brush their teeth every day, and, the other, to wash their clothes once a week. During the inspection they squatted round him at the tent door, and after they had gone the sub-inspector told him that he could not have had them there in that way two months earlier because then they did not brush their teeth or wash their clothes. This seemed to indicate one of the reasons for Untouchability, and he had come across other instances of the same type which seemed to confirm that view.

But what was important was the future. So far as the past was concerned, an Englishman was on difficult ground; we had our own social evils, and it was not for us to take up a superior attitude. What we could do, perhaps, was to join with Indians in thinking out the best way of getting rid of the evil. One remedy thousands of Untouchables had already adopted: many in the Punjab had become Muslims, Christians or Sikhs, and in so doing had improved their position.

He was inclined to agree with a previous speaker who thought the basis of the problem was economic, but it was also social to this extent, that if a man is given education he is more likely to stand up for himself. If India could only get going with a comprehensive scheme of reconstruction based not only upon the spread of education, but also upon a general improvement of health (because health had a great deal to do with a man's self-respect), he believed that the changes which were taking place would be greatly accelerated. Doubtless, however, Mr. Bhole would not be satisfied with that, because his community were suffering *now* and must naturally wish matters to be put right at once.

Mr. HILTON BROWN said that Mr. Bhole was giving a broadcast in a few days on the subject of his paper which he was sure would be stimulating and moving. Many speakers had emphasized the economic factor in the improvement of the depressed classes' position. It was the vital factor. Speaking from his own experience, when an Untouchable from Madras had gone to the Malay States and made money and come back and was able to live in an improved style, he was somehow less "Untouchable" than he had been. Mr. Bhole suggested that agricultural settlements should be made for the Untouchables. This was nothing new; for many years instructions had been issued to set aside land for the depressed classes, and long lists had been drawn up, but on inspection most of this land was found to be quite unsuitable. That was partly due to malice on the part of the higher castes, but it was also due to genuine insufficiency of land. It seemed to him, therefore, that the

economic progress of the Untouchables was more likely to come on the industrial side. Mr. Bhole would say that the Untouchables were all in the villages, whereas industries were in the towns, but it was possible that, as new agricultural land was developed, so also the industries might spread from the towns to the villages and some kind of place for the Untouchables be found in them.

Mr. GHAISSUDIN endorsed what Mr. Bhole had said about the injustice meted out to the Untouchable community. Speaking as an Indian, he had no defence to offer that such a state of affairs should have been allowed to exist for such a long time. He had heard the Chairman, Mr. Griffiths, speak on a good many occasions. Sometimes he had differed, sometimes he had agreed, but never was he so disappointed as this afternoon when he heard him defending a certain type of Englishman who got used to the idea of the caste system.

As an Indian he pleaded guilty to the standing shame of allowing this system to exist, but the British were not blameless; they had been in power for a long time and had done little. They said they did not wish to interfere with old customs, but surely in the schools, financed from public revenues, they could have said that all classes of the people must and could attend. Village wells, which were erected by public money, should have been made available to every citizen.

There was a greater injustice than these. In the Legislative Assembly the Muslims had thirty-four elected members. On a proportionate basis the Scheduled Castes should have had seventeen, but they had actually only one nominated member to represent 50 million people.

They were all, British and Indian, responsible for this evil, and it was the duty of them all to promote ameliorative measures.

Mr. DELHAVI said that the Muslims were fighting for the minorities. The Pakistan project was caused by Hindu domination in Hindu India. The leaders who championed the cause of the minorities all came from Hindu India, and this was an indication to a Muslim what must be the attitude of the Untouchables, who had suffered from the complete domination of the caste Hindus.

He was rather surprised when the Chairman said that he, as an Englishman, was reluctant to take sides, but it was high time that Englishmen did take sides; those who believed in democracy would do so. It was no use holding the scales of justice. The British thought these proscriptions had a religious aspect, but they stood for the control of politics and economics through religious means. On one side they were doing their best to knock out cranks, but when they were asked to knock out a dominating group they said they were trustees.

Muslims also wondered why the Untouchables were potential Christians; the union of the South India Church was discussed, but the money could have been better spent on the Untouchable cause. Sir John Woodhead believed in Mr. Gandhi's sincerity regarding the Untouchables. The latter wanted to bring them into his fold as Hindus so that he could increase his following, which was not honest. As long ago as 1812 Lord Grey said that if some crumbs were thrown to these people they would defy the Brahmins.

The political point of view of the Untouchable leaders had nothing to do with the religious or economic aspect, but was that if the British left India the Hindus would be in the majority and the Untouchables would be completely under their domination. This was the reason why they so strongly opposed the Congress Party.

A MEMBER asked Mr. Bhole if the Untouchables were Hindus by religion and, if so, did they wish to remain in the Hindu fold?

Mr. Bhole, in reply, said that the Untouchables were part of the Hindus, but renounced that religion about eight years ago by a resolution passed by a conference attended by 70,000 people, including 20,000 women. With regard to temple entry, he, as a member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, stated in the House when a half-baked Bill was introduced by the Congress Government that they were not there to enter into temples, that the Hindu religion had been renounced by them. The

Untouchables wanted their status and rights as ordinary citizens of the Province and would have nothing to do with the Temple Entry Bill.

He was very grateful for some of the other points of view, but he begged to differ because he did not believe they were correct. The British officer in India was too busy to be able to get into contact with every person in his jurisdiction and had to depend in considerable measure upon a subordinate officer, usually a Brahmin. When the district officer visited a village he did not usually go to the Untouchables' locality; he went to the Hindu quarters, so that his knowledge was very often inadequate.

Sir GILBERT WILES asked what religion the Scheduled Classes would adopt.

Mr. Bhole* said that a committee was studying Sikhism, Buddhism, and the Christian and Muhammedan religions to see which was the best for them.

Sir ERNEST HOTSON proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and speaker. They were fortunate in having a man of such wide experience in the Chair and in having heard the lecturer's eloquent address. Several of the audience remembered another representative of the Scheduled Castes in the Bombay Legislative Council who had a similar name, Rao Bahadur Bole, who was very useful to his people. The speaker had put forward an excellent case, but he should not exaggerate it. It really was not the fact that men such as Sir Malcolm Darling and others who had spoken did not know the depressed classes' quarters in the villages, or that a competent officer took his views on such subjects from his *sheristedar*. A good many of the speakers had pointed out that the actual condition of the depressed classes was not as bad as it had been painted, and he thought he could say the same about the part of India which he knew best; but that did not really affect the main point of Mr. Bhole's case, which was that they had no security. No one would deny that in almost any part of India the worst manifestations of caste prejudice might be repeated even now. What was required was a condition of security which would prevent such things happening again, and it was of the greatest importance that every assistance should be given to Mr. Bhole and others who are trying to make their people's case better understood in this country.

The vote of thanks was accorded by applause.

THE HOT SPRINGS RESOLUTIONS: THEIR RELATION TO INDIAN AGRICULTURE

BY SIR JOHN RUSSELL, O.B.E., F.R.S.

IN the second half of May, 1943, there was held at Hot Springs, Virginia, a Conference which may prove a turning-point in the history of the world. It was attended by representatives of forty-four nations, including Great Britain, and all parts of the Empire, including India, which was strongly represented. Its purpose was to consider the goal of freedom from want in relation to food and agriculture. This aim of freedom from want is one of the cardinal points of the Atlantic Charter, and the signatory Governments have expressed their intention of trying to attain it. The Conference declared that even the wider aim could be attained, but first it was necessary to secure freedom from hunger.

The magnitude of the task was fully realized: it was shown that in all countries large sections of the population do not get enough to eat, and in many countries the majority of the people are in that situation. The ultimate objective is a world in which all people are fed in full accordance with the requirements of good health.

This goal could obviously not be reached at one step; it would be necessary to concentrate on intermediate goals which must vary from country to country. There is not, and there never has been, sufficient food produced in the world to feed all the people in accordance with the desired standards, and in all countries more food production would be necessary. In particular it is essential to produce more of the protective foods—milk, meat, eggs, fruit, vegetables, etc.

One of the most important recommendations of the Conference was that the Governments and authorities represented should declare to their own people and to one another their intention to secure more and better food for the people.

My purpose today is to consider how these resolutions, if they are acted upon, are likely to react on Indian agriculture. In the first instance it is necessary to state the problem. This involves three sets of investigations. Surveys must be made to discover what actually is the dietary of the different sections of the population; physiological studies are needed to ascertain the requirements of these different sections for the different food units and to show what deficits exist; and, finally, agricultural experts must try to discover how best to supply these deficits.

INDIAN DIETARY

A number of surveys of Indian diets have been made from time to time—notably by the Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry—which contain much information about economic conditions in the villages. For purposes of our present discussion the surveys carried out by Dr. Aykroyd and his staff are most helpful, as they give the necessary physiological detail and are based on "consumption units"—*i.e.*, the equivalent number of adult men—using the scale adopted by the League of Nations Health Organization in 1932. This method has the advantage of conforming with investigations in other countries, though, as Dr. Aykroyd points out, there is no evidence that it is valid in India. These various surveys give a very fair picture of the actual dietary of the various population groups. From these it is safe to say there is a good deal of inadequacy, but more difficult to say precisely how much.

Most of the investigations on the physiological requirements of the human body have been made in temperate regions, and there is little direct evidence of the requirements in the tropics. In Europe and America the calorie requirements of the average man is put at about 3,000 per day; for the tropics it is assumed that the requirement is lower, because the body weight is less, the physical activity is less, and the external temperature is higher. Nicholls put the value as low as 2,200, and some investigators go lower still; on the basis of 15 calories per lb. of body weight they arrive at a figure of 1,800 calories only. Aykroyd, however, prefers a higher figure, and in his 1937 bulletin he suggests 2,600, which is certainly safer as a working basis.

Aykroyd also suggests as the average man's daily requirements 10.4 gms. of nitrogen (*i.e.*, 65 gms. protein), some 45 to 60 gms. of fat, 20 mgms. iron, 0.6 gms. calcium and 1 gm. of phosphorus.

These are the best figures we have, and until physiologists put forward better ones they provide the basis of any attempt to make Indian agriculture fit Indian dietary requirements. No harm is done if they should be on the high side. There are two ways of ascertaining how far the actual dietary is physiologically sufficient. The simplest in principle is to multiply the average physiological requirements by the number of "consumption units" calculated from the population tables, and so arrive at a total requirement of calories, nitrogen, etc., for the whole Province. The amount of calories and nutrients in the food available are then calculated and compared with the requirements, so as to ascertain the magnitude of the deficit, if any. This gives "global" figures helpful to the administrator for showing the order of magnitude of the problem, but there is a considerable margin of error, because neither physiological requirements nor available amounts of food are known with sufficient certainty. Radhakamal Mukerjee's calculated supply of calories* falls about 12 per cent. short of the calculated needs, but in view of the uncertainties of the data one cannot attach much significance to a difference of this order. It seems clear that there is no large deficit, and it is even possible that on the whole the calorie requirements are just

* Quoted in Thomas and Sastry, *vide supra*.

about met. This also would fit in with the conclusion drawn by Sir David Meek* that the increased volume of food crop production in India has rather more than kept pace with the increase in population.

The latest of all these statistics, an important volume by Thomas and Sastry,† also show a rather higher trend.

			1920-21 to 1921-22.	1934-35 to 1935-36.
Population ...	...	...	100	115
Agricultural production	...	...	100	121
Industrial production	...	...	100	267

(Calculated by R. A. Fisher's weighted aggregate index method.)

DETAILED NUTRITION SURVEYS

The other method is more tedious, but it gives fuller information; it is to carry out detailed nutrition surveys organized on a proper statistical basis to find out what foods the people actually are eating. Methods of conducting these sample surveys have been elaborated in recent years, and Professor Mahalanobis has recently summarized and discussed them.

The surveys I have seen do not suggest any grave deficiency of calories in general, though of course there is much inequality of distribution. As far as the information goes it indicates that shortages of calories in the dietaries of particular groups are due rather to differences in distribution than to absolute deficiencies in supplies. In regard to nitrogen supply it is more difficult to give an answer, because the physiologists themselves do not seem to be too clear as to how much is wanted. During the last war a Committee of the Royal Society investigated pretty fully the food situation of the United Kingdom, and, accepting the standard of nitrogen requirements then adopted, their figures suggested that a dietary supplying enough calories would normally supply enough nitrogen. If we may assume that the Indian supply of calories is, on the whole, just about adequate, it seems to follow that the nitrogen supply is not likely to be far out. Modern physiologists, however, attach considerable importance to the quality of the protein, and they distinguish between first- and second-class proteins. Those of the first class are usually of animal origin, especially milk, eggs, meat, poultry and fish, but they include some of vegetable origin, some of the constituents of green vegetables and potatoes. The proteins of grains and pulses, however, fall mainly into the second class. Judged from this standard the nitrogen supply of the published Indian dietaries is usually insufficient.

The deficiencies are much more clearly marked when we come to vitamins and minerals—calcium, phosphorus and iron. Full analyses of Indian foods are too few to allow good average compositions to be taken out, but the published dietaries are, according to the available figures, definitely low in all these constituents. A direct test is possible here, as lack of any of these nutrients causes deficiency diseases of which the symptoms are pretty well known: keratomalacia is caused by deficiency of vitamin A; stomatitis by deficiency of vitamin B; low hæmoglobin content by deficiency of iron; and all these are fairly common.

THE MILK SUPPLY

It is very desirable to extend the excellent work done by the nutrition experts in India so as to give more precision to the subject, but in the meantime it is safe to say that the food of a considerable proportion of the population is lacking in first-class protein, in vitamins and in mineral substances. These deficiencies cannot be made good by increasing the amount of grain consumed, whether it be wheat, rice or millet. They can be partly met by consuming more vegetables and more fruit; they are better

* David B. Meek, Manchester Statistical Society, 1935; and *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 1936, Vol. 84, 935-971.

† *Indian Agricultural Statistics*, P. J. Thomas and N. Sundarama Sastry, Madras University, 1939.

met by consuming not only more vegetables and fruit, but also more milk; they are best met by consuming all these and, in addition, eggs, meat and fish.

In view of the large numbers of vegetarians in India, the task before the agriculturist is to increase the supply of milk, fruit and vegetables; and although the data are insufficient to state exactly how large an increase is necessary to provide a dietary in accordance with the requirements of good health, yet it can be said that a considerable increase will be needed, enough to tax the resources of the agriculturist for some time.

The milk supply presents the most difficult problems. In his illuminating Report of 1937 Dr. Norman Wright collected the available data,* and from these and his own observations made a number of recommendations. The average consumption of milk and its products in India is extremely low: it is given in the League of Nations publication, "Statistics of Food Production, Consumption and Prices," as equivalent to 7 ozs. milk per head of population per day, while that of Great Britain is put at 39 ozs. The consumption varies a great deal in the various Provinces; Sir John Megaw estimated the daily consumption in ounces per head as follows:

<i>Punjab.</i>	<i>U.P.</i>	<i>Bombay.</i>	<i>Behar and Orissa.</i>	<i>Assam.</i>	<i>Bengal.</i>	<i>Madras.</i>	<i>C.P.</i>
9.9	5.0	4.0	3.2	2.2	1.9	1.6	0.8

These figures are not directly comparable with those of the League of Nations, but they have relative value and they show the enormous variation that exists. Accepting the figures of 7 to 8 ozs. per head per day as the present average consumption, Dr. Wright shows that for a satisfactory health standard it would be necessary to attain a consumption somewhere between 15 and 30 ozs. per head per day. It would thus be necessary to double the average consumption of milk in order to attain even the minimum standard required for full health. The actual problem would be much more difficult than that, for the distribution of milk in India, as in other countries, is very uneven, being profoundly affected by the family income. In Lahore, for instance, the average daily consumption per head was 4 ozs., but for the lowest income groups the figure was only 2.8, while for the higher groups it exceeded 30. No solution to this problem of maldistribution of milk can be found until a considerably larger supply of milk is available, and from the point of view of the Hot Springs Resolutions the solution will not be complete until production per head is at least doubled. The population of cows and she-buffaloes looks high, but per head of population it is not; it is only about one milk producer for seven people, while in most European countries the number is one cow for three or four people. Apart from the low number of animals, a more serious difficulty is the very small amount of food they receive. Dr. Wright reports that the majority of the Indian milch cattle are seriously underfed, the protein being markedly deficient. In consequence the milk yields are low, the average being not more than about 60 gallons per annum—about one-tenth of the average in Great Britain. The necessary proteins could not come from coarse fodder, but would have to be supplied by berseem, lucerne or other leguminous crops and from protein-rich cakes such as linseed, cotton-seed, earth-nut, etc. It is highly probable also that the mineral food constituents are deficient, but these could be relatively easily supplied by licks. At present the fodder crops are mainly confined to Northern India: the Punjab heads the list with about 5 million acres, Bombay has about half this area, and the United Provinces about 1.4 million acres; the other Provinces have much less. An extension of leguminous fodder crops would not only benefit the cattle and the milk yield, but would raise the productivity of the soil. The difficulty, of course, is the water supply, and, while this may be minimized by finding more drought-resistant varieties, the final solution is more irrigation, which is not always possible.

Any attempt greatly to raise the milk output would necessitate considerable grading of the cattle, a problem which presents grave difficulties. The success of the

* Norman C. Wright, Report on the Cattle and Dairy Industries of India, Delhi, 1937.

village bull scheme developed by Sir Arthur Olver shows, however, that the difficulties are not insuperable.

VEGETABLES AND FRUIT

An increased supply of vegetables per head would be needed for a higher standard of nutrition, and this would be more easily attained than the extra milk. In his examples of balanced diets Dr. Aykroyd quotes 4 ozs. per day of vegetables and no fruit in an unbalanced, and 10 ozs. of vegetables and 2 ozs. of fruit in a balanced, diet. Again, North India is better off than the South, and I have seen very good specimens of peasant-grown vegetables at their shows. Guidance is wanted both from the medical and the horticultural points of view as to which would be the best vegetables to grow, and, in view of the freedom from complicating social and religious factors, there should be no special difficulty in ensuring the necessary additional quantities.

Advocacy of higher fruit consumption is an easy task in India, where fruit is very popular. The possibilities of fruit production are very considerable: most kinds of fruit can be grown somewhere or other in India, from apples and plums of temperate climates to mangoes, pineapples and oranges; and they can be grown well. The more difficult problem is distribution. But again guidance is very desirable; fruits vary in dietetic value, and preference should, where possible, be given to the richer sorts.

The areas of fruits and of vegetables are not separately listed, but up to 1935 there had been no indication of an increase in area for many years. But both are interesting crops to produce and they can be lucrative, offering a good career to an expert grower. There seems no physical reason why India should not produce all the vegetables and fruit needed on a higher dietary, particularly if the beneficent movement for improving the villages should continue, and carry in its train a further planting of fruit trees round the villages.

HOPEFUL FEATURES

From the foregoing considerations it appears that the carrying out of the Hot Springs Resolutions to which the representatives of India attached their signatures will present considerable difficulties, which, however, should not prove insuperable. The two hopeful features in the situation are that the total caloric supply from home production and imports does not seem inadequate, whatever may be the unevenness of distribution: actually in 1940-41 there was a considerable export of grain, somewhat less than half the value of the imports. It would, of course, be easy to argue against the export of food from India: the justification is that if one aims at highest possible output there are always liable to be local surpluses which cannot be stored, and unless they can be sold at a satisfactory price they are apt to depress the cultivators' enthusiasm. To advocate greater consumption of fruit and vegetables in India is simply preaching to the converted. An extension of their production would be good for the land and good for the men,* for much higher values of output both per acre and per day's labour can be obtained from them than from grain crops. Difficulties of transport and distribution still remain.

MIXED FARMING

The major difficulty would be to ensure the necessary increase in the production and consumption of milk. Yet here, too, the reward would be considerable if the end could be attained, for here, as in fruit and vegetable production, the value of the output per acre and per day's labour is much greater than in grain production.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the advantage of milk and vitamin production both to the small and the large farmer. In all countries settled agriculture began as grain production; it improved, but reached a relatively static condition

* For a fuller discussion of these aspects of the problem see the writer's Report in the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research in applying science to crop production in India, Delhi, 1939.

beyond which further progress was very slow. Much higher standards of output became practicable when a more mixed farming system was adopted, particularly when livestock husbandry was properly linked to arable cropping. Grain cropping is most economically carried out on sparsely populated regions of wide open spaces where big implements can be employed, but livestock, eggs, fruit and vegetables can be very appropriately produced on small farms and can under skilful management offer a satisfying life to a trained farmer.

This type of farming benefits the soil, and, though its extension might trench on the area now devoted to grain, there is no reason to fear that the total output of grain would be less. It needs, however, water; but the considerable area now under irrigation and the advances being made in dry farming methods suggest that here, too, the problems are not insoluble. It would, however, be an indispensable condition that the cultivators should have sufficient technical training to be able to look after the animals properly and do the necessary cultivations; they would also need sufficient moral education to enable them to co-operate effectively. Other essential developments would be a strengthening of the links between the agricultural experiment stations and the cultivators, and the removal of such barriers as fragmentation of holdings.

The carrying out of the Hot Springs Resolutions would thus necessitate considerable planning in Indian agriculture by both nutrition and agricultural experts; there would also be need of economic organization. The great advantage of the Resolutions, if they can be carried into effect, is that they hold out the possibility of a better life not only for the townsman, but also for the countryman engaged in food production.

N.B.—The discussion on this paper will be printed in the July issue of THE ASIATIC REVIEW.

(End of Proceedings of the East India Association.)

THE WAR EFFORT OF MYSORE

SUMMARY OF PROGRESS

THE Mysore State has been contributing to the general war effort to the fullest limit of its resources. In February, 1940, shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, His late Highness the Maharaja made an appeal to his subjects to respond to any call made on them in the prosecution of the war and to help the cause of freedom by service or by money.

In addition to the gifts made from time to time by His Highness and his Government for purposes connected with the war, the people and the several industries of Mysore have played their part on a scale worthy of the State and of the Allied cause. The State has contributed so far Rs. 43·51 lakhs in aid of the war effort, of which the contributions from His Highness's Privy Purse and the Government alone amount to Rs. 34·25 lakhs.

The most important of these contributions are: (1) Rs. 1,33,333 to the Lord Mayor's Fund for the relief of air raid victims in London. (2) Rs. 8,33,731 for the purchase of aircraft to form the Mysore Squadron of the Royal Air Force. (3) Rs. 5,00,000 to His Excellency the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund in June, 1941, for the welfare of Indian troops. (4) Rs. 6,50,000 in January, 1942, for purposes relating to the naval defence of India. (5) Rs. 1,00,000 to His Excellency the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund for the gift of a fighter plane named "Mysore" for the Indian Air Force.

The Mysore Squadron of the Royal Air Force, towards the formation of which the State has made substantial contributions from time to time, has done very well indeed, thanks to its gallant personnel. In a cablegram sent as early as July, 1941, by the Minister of Aircraft Production, he referred to the Squadron in the following

words: "It is with pride and gratitude that I tell you that the Royal Air Force has now in service a Mysore Squadron. Its Spitfires will bear proud witness to the generous loyalty of your people who have made a valuable addition to our fighting strength at this vital stage in our struggle for air supremacy and final victory." The Squadron has been more or less continually in action and, judging from official reports received from London, it may well be proud of its achievements. It acquitted itself very well in the historic Battle of Britain. According to an official report received in March, 1942, the Squadron participated in 60 operational flights, in which it brought down 16 enemy machines, besides 5 probables and 5 known to have been seriously damaged. "Known in the Royal Air Force as 'Jaya,' the fighter pilots of the Mysore Squadron are a body of very young, modest and charming lads ever keen for action and delighted at the knowledge that His Highness the Maharaja takes such warm personal interest in them."

MILITARY AID

Apart from direct contributions in money for war purposes, Government have taken several measures to promote the war effort of the State. Not the least of these is the assistance which they have given in the form of military aid. The services of the 1st Battalion of the Mysore Infantry were placed at the disposal of the Government of India at the outbreak of war. The offer was accepted, and the Battalion was selected for service with His Majesty's forces overseas. It was brought up to the full strength of an Indian States Forces Battalion, and the pay and allowances of the officers and staff of the unit were also raised to the scale of corresponding ranks of the Indian Army. The provision of reinforcements for the Battalion was also agreed to at a cost of about Rs. 1½ lakhs. It has further been arranged to grant disability and family pensions to the officers and men of the Battalion at Indian Army rates, and also separation and emergency allowances. The officers and men of the Battalion distinguished themselves during their service overseas, but they are now prisoners of war at Singapore and are reported to be safe. Pending their return, which it is hoped may not be long deferred, adequate arrangements have been made to look after the families of soldiers who have proceeded on active service. In the case of those who died in action, special allowances and special pensions are being paid to the members of their families.

A complete battalion has been raised to take the place of the 1st Infantry Battalion, with a training company to keep it up to strength. In addition, the 3rd Battalion has been expanded from one company to a full I.S.F. Battalion to provide for internal security duties, and a new unit, called the Garrison Battalion, with headquarters and two companies has also been raised. Additional accommodation required for the 3rd Battalion and the new training company has been provided at a cost exceeding one lakh of rupees. The State officers required for the expansion schemes have been drawn from the Officers' Training Schools, and a new cadre of emergency commissions has been provided for the enlistment of Indian officer cadets.

The State has also rendered assistance in the provision of suitable sites and lands for military purposes, free of cost, for the duration of the war. A total extent of 16,000 acres of land has been made available for the location of military camps, prisoners of war camps and other similar purposes.

A number of buildings belonging to His Highness the Maharaja and the Mysore Government have been placed at the disposal of the military authorities.

WAR TECHNICIANS

The war has provided special opportunities for the youth of the country to train themselves for careers as war technicians and for suitable employment after the war in peace-time industries. Here, again, Mysore has made its own contribution to the All-India Technical Training Scheme. The State affords facilities for such training in its various institutions, numbering 11 (which include the Engineering College, the Central Industrial Workshop, the Electric Factory, the Railway Workshop and the Iron and Steel Works), with a training capacity of 960. The Southern Circle, in which Mysore is included, has so far supplied nearly 10,000 trainees to the Services

out of a total of 42,000 supplied by the whole of India, and of this Mysore has contributed no less than 1,750. The majority of these trainees have found employment in the Army, Navy and Air Force and in the factories engaged in the production of supplies for war purposes.

WOMEN'S PART IN THE WAR EFFORT

No account of Mysore's war effort can be complete without mention of the devoted work being done by the women of Mysore. They have responded enthusiastically to the call of war. With the constitution of the Women's Auxiliary Committee of the Mysore War Fund, under the presidentship of Mrs. N. Madhava Rau, the effort in this direction was co-ordinated. This Committee has formed three sub-committees, viz. : (1) Work Sub-Committees in charge of the work parties; (2) First-Aid and House Nursing Sub-Committee in charge of the work connected with the promotion of interest in first-aid and home nursing; and (3) Packing and Despatching Sub-Committee in charge of the work connected with the packing and despatching of garments, gifts, etc., received from the work parties and the public.

The Women's Auxiliary Committee is also taking interest in the provision of amenities to the patients in a large Indian military hospital near Bangalore.

With the help of the Secretary of the St. John Ambulance Association, Mysore State Centre, the sub-committee in charge of first-aid and home nursing has been able to promote considerable interest in these subjects among the women. The sub-committee meets periodically to discuss the possibility of extension of first-aid and home nursing classes.

Gifts of clothing, books, magazines, etc., are collected by the Committee and sent for the use of the troops abroad, including the Indian troops.

A number of ladies have been helpful in canvassing and selling tickets for the fêtes and entertainments got up in aid of the War Fund. They collected Christmas gifts for the troops from merchants and others and contributed their own gifts also. The gifts collected included foodstuffs, cigarettes and beedies, socks, handkerchiefs, bandages, playing cards and pickles.

In these and other ways the women of Mysore have been taking a keen interest in making their contribution towards purposes connected with the war.

INDUSTRIES AND WAR SUPPLY

With the possible exception of purely military operations, there is perhaps no more important or essential aspect of war effort than industrial production. In this sphere of activity, Mysore may well claim that she has been privileged to make a substantial and useful contribution to the war effort of the United Nations. Apart from the Forest Department and the Department of Industries and Commerce, which have taken up the execution of a large number of orders for the Supply Department of the Government of India, there are as many as 26 industrial concerns in the State engaged directly in the manufacture of war supplies. Of these 9 are State-owned, 9 State-aided and 8 private. The total value of war orders placed with these concerns from the outbreak of war up to the end of May, 1943, comes to Rs. 8 crores. This does not, however, take into account the war production by the Hindustan Aircraft and the value of stores, the prices of which have not yet been fixed by the Supply Department.

The State supplies cotton, ammonia and acetate for explosives, iron and steel for armaments, silk for aeroplanes, carbonized coconut shells for gas-masks, timber for military camps and a variety of articles of requirement for the Army.

Practically the entire output of the Mysore Iron and Steel Works has been placed at the disposal of the Department of Supply. Mainly with the object of increasing war production, the works have been further expanded by the installation of an additional open hearth furnace and of a new rod and strip mill, at a total cost of about Rs. 25 lakhs. An electric furnace for the manufacture of steel, two furnaces for the manufacture of ferro-chrome and ferro-silicon, a pilot plant for the manufacture of urea and another plant for the manufacture of formaldehyde have also been installed. The works now supply acetate of lime, cast-iron tubes, steel and steel castings, etc.,

and the value of products supplied since the beginning of the war comes to over Rs. 71 lakhs.

A dichromate factory has been established, the entire output of which has been ear-marked for war purposes.

The Machine Tool Factory (Mysore Kirloskar, Ltd.), started in 1941, is engaged mainly in executing orders for the Supply Department.

The Mysore Chrome Tanning Company is supplying sole leather and other leather equipment to the Army.

The Government Electric Factory is well equipped for the supply of electrical transformers, levelling instruments, plastic-ware and non-ferrous castings, electric sirens, stirrup pumps, steel helmets, etc. Orders for transformers of various capacities have been placed with the factory.

The Government Porcelain Factory is manufacturing both low-tension and high-tension insulators, glazed wall tiles and crockery. Insulators are being supplied to the telegraph and engineering services of the Government of India. An electrical tunnel kiln, which is stated to be the only one of its kind in Asia, has been put into service in the factory. This has facilitated the manufacture and standardization of high-tension insulators and other porcelain goods. With the stoneware pipes and potteries, the factory has also made a beginning with the manufacture of acid-resistant ware largely in demand in munitions factories.

In heavy industrial chemicals the increased demands not only of ordnance factories but also of concerns employed in the manufacture of essential textiles, such as khaki, long cloth, etc., in India, have been met by the Mysore Chemicals and Fertilizers, Ltd. The factory manufactures concentrated sulphuric acid, synthetic ammonia and neutral ammonium sulphate, all of which are regularly supplied to the military authorities. The plant is equipped for undertaking the manufacture of "oleum," a fuming acid used for explosives. The manufacture of ammonium carbonate has also been taken up for meeting the requirements of the Supply Department.

The field-service articles supplied by the Industrial and Testing Laboratory have been found to be very useful. A number of pharmaceutical products conforming to British standard specifications are prepared in the laboratory, and may be classed as tinctures, tablets, spirits, ointments, disinfectants and proprietary products. The sulphonated oils are used in field ambulance and medical services. The laboratory has recently supplied a large quantity of tincture *senegæ*, besides smaller quantities of other products like malt extract. The making of tablets of *Iteol* is under investigation, and the making of ampoules for liver extracts and amyl nitrate is in progress. The manufacture of hydrogen peroxide is also under consideration.

The Government Silk Weaving Factory and the Mysore Spun Silk Mills, Ltd., are supplying considerable quantities of parachute cloth and silk cord of the specifications mentioned by the Supply Department.

The Sericulture Industry of Mysore has been afforded an opportunity to materially aid the war effort by the supply of silk for parachutes for the Air Forces. This aid is very timely in view of the fact that there is considerable shortage of silk in India by the stoppage of supplies from China and Japan. As a result of negotiations and discussions with the Government of India and certain private interests, 1,500 basins are being put up in addition to the number already at work. The entire production will be handed over to the Government of India. Under this expansion scheme, which has been undertaken with the co-operation and financial assistance, in part, of the Government of India, a filature of 200 basins will be put up by the Sericulture Department, entirely at the cost of His Majesty's Government, the rest being installed and worked by private concerns—namely, the Mysore Silk Filatures, Ltd., the Mysore Spun Silk Mills, and the Vellum Parachute Silk Co. In view of the urgency and importance of this work, Government have also appointed a special officer to be in charge of organizing the work under the scheme. A silk conditioning and testing house will also be established at a cost of about Rs. 80,000, towards which the Government of India have made an outright grant of Rs. 25,000.

The Department of Industries and Commerce supplies woollen Army blankets woven in hand-looms, coconut shell charcoal and buttons of coconut shell and horn.

Another important order received from the War Board is for the supply of

coconut shell charcoal used in the manufacture of gas-masks and for the preparation of activated carbon. This has given an impetus for the starting of a new rural industry.

The Department has also lent the services of some of its experienced officers to the Supply Department of the Government of India.

The Central Industrial Workshop has manufactured cooker oil blow-lamp cap fittings for the Supply Department of the Government of India.

The question of organizing war supply through small-scale industries in order to relieve pressure on large-scale industries was considered at a conference held in March, 1942, at New Delhi. As a result of the deliberations of this conference, the State has been given large orders for the supply of cutlery, wood articles, leather goods and woollen blankets. These orders and other similar orders have been distributed to village artisans, cottage workers and minor establishments, who are thus contributing their share to the general war effort. Every industry in Mysore, big or small, is thus, greatly to its advantage, brought into the war supply picture.

The Mysore Forest Department has also contributed its share in war supplies. This contribution has taken three forms—namely, direct supplies of forest produce to the defence services, compliance with indents for timbers from industrial concerns and Government departments for executing war orders, and provision of facilities for extraction and utilization of raw materials in forest produce required for essential industries newly organized.

It may be reasonably claimed therefore that an all-out effort has been made to mobilize the resources of the State for the successful prosecution of the war.

A PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA

BY R. W. BROCK

THERE are no immediate indications of any constructive developments in the Indian political situation calculated to foster hope or expectation of an early termination of the present deadlock. In addition to reiterating the Cripps offer, Lord Wavell has expressed readiness to welcome a co-operative effort by party leaders to inaugurate forthwith the preliminary consultations and inquiries which must in any circumstances precede a post-war Constituent Assembly. Unfortunately, it appears highly improbable that the party leaders will embark on such a move on their own initiative. As, however, the constitutional and economic issues cannot be wholly dissociated, it is necessary to make some attempt to formulate a political time-table as an essential preliminary in gauging India's industrial future. Past experience, of course, is not *ipso facto* a reliable guide in regard to the pace of future progress. But, accepting it for what it may be worth, it may be recalled that the Simon Commission, which was appointed in 1927, reported in 1930, and that as the provincial sections of the Act of 1935 did not come into effective operation until 1937, exactly ten years were absorbed in bringing the present Constitution into effect.

A reasoned assessment of the military and political factors renders it difficult to hope that the Constituent Assembly contemplated in the Cripps programme can meet before 1947; and even assuming that agreements on all fundamental issues are reached more swiftly than now appears probable, it is impossible to envisage the necessary legislation and associated measures being carried through in time to enable the next Constitution to come into action earlier than, say, 1950, if then. War-time discussions between Indian party leaders, as urged by Lord Wavell, might accelerate progress. But, as already noted, of these there is no present prospect, and the economic outlook can only be gauged at the moment with this impasse as one of the determining factors. It is always permissible to hope that British and Indian statesmanship, in fruitful collaboration, may achieve an earlier and more satisfactory termination of the

present lamentable deadlock than can now be envisaged, but meanwhile we must take the situation as we find it, and we must also prepare to deal with its economic and financial consequences.

India needs a planned economy, designed to promote maximum development of its rural and industrial resources with the utmost energy and within the shortest possible period. There is no conflict between agricultural and industrial development, which are complementary and therefore equally essential and urgent. Indian industries are the principal consumers of many important crops and other raw materials produced in India, such as jute, cotton and many others, as well, of course, as iron ore and other minerals, and to assume that there is any inherent or irreconcilable conflict of interests between the primary producer and the manufacturer is to misconceive the position. One may indeed go further and say that, if Indian agricultural methods are to be modernized, a further large-scale development of urban industries is a condition-*precedent*, in order not only to absorb primary products, but also to equip Indian cultivators with the improved implements and other requisites, including fertilizers, essential to the production of larger and more profitable crops.

It is an indefensible position that India, with its vast areas of cultivable waste, should be dependent on imported food of any description, and the rectification of this grave economic anomaly must rank as one of the first objectives of post-war planning. In this connection the Bengal famine, although due to some extent to war conditions, has supplied a stern and costly warning that pre-war inadequacies cannot with impunity be perpetuated in the post-war period. A precise assessment of responsibility for the Bengal disaster is less profitable than a common determination to co-operate in eliminating the fundamental deficiencies in India's administrative and economic equipment which this unhappy occurrence has exposed. To mention only one example, quoted by the Food Grains Policy Committee presided over by Sir Theodore Gregory:

"The drive for all-out production of food crops in the Provinces and States has thrown a very heavy responsibility on the Departments of Agriculture, which are in most cases very inadequately staffed. Unless these Departments are very considerably expanded it will be unfair to expect them to carry out the work envisaged by the Committee either adequately or efficiently. Increased production brooks no delay, and this cannot be achieved in the absence of adequate trained personnel of the various Departments of Agriculture. The Committee, therefore, strongly recommend that Provincial and State Governments should take steps to increase the strength of the Departments of Agriculture immediately."

Of equal significance in its implications is the Committee's insistence that it is "a short-sighted policy to treat agricultural research as a matter of subsidiary importance during war-time and to deny it adequate funds"—a comment driven home with the disclosure that the annual income of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research is under £130,000, a pitifully inadequate figure.

As an illustration of the interdependence of rural and industrial progress it must suffice to note the Gregory Committee's recommendation that "assistance should be afforded to industrialists for the importation of plant and in all other ways, such as the giving of technical advice for the manufacture of ammonium sulphate to the extent of at least 350,000 tons a year." After the Bengal disaster it is no longer necessary to emphasize that India's food production is perilously inadequate, for although, to quote the Gregory Committee's finding, "taking an average of years, she may broadly be described as only slightly less than self-sufficient in food grains as a whole, nevertheless the self-sufficiency implied by this statement at the very best is self-sufficiency at a very low level of *per capita* consumption. . . . We have it on the authority of the highest nutritional expert in this country, Dr. Akroyd, that there is at all times serious under-nourishment of some third of the population. Moreover, in considering Indian conditions, it is impossible to overlook both the annual rate of increase in the population or the enormous absolute size of the population. In the inter-censal period 1931-41 the population increased by some 50,000,000 souls, and there is no reason to suppose that natality has undergone any significant decline during the war years. As regards the absolute size of the population, it is sufficient to say that an increase in the daily consumption of as little as one ounce *per capita*

would involve an addition of some 4,000,000 tons per annum to the available food supply."

It is a reasonable inference from this analysis that India's food production, which in recent years has averaged about 53,000,000 tons, could be increased, without exceeding minimum nutritional requirements, to at least 80,000,000 tons. The difference between these two figures affords a measure of the task—a task of the greatest complexity as well as of imposing magnitude—which confronts the responsible authorities in the post-war period. Probably it will take one or two decades to reach this objective, and whether population in that time will remain one or more jumps ahead of production, as in the last two or three censal terms, only the event can decide. Meanwhile it is a safe calculation that, although limited supplies of wheat may be available, it will be, at best, three or four years before India will be able to resume imports of rice from her former sources of supply, and that, unless she can expand her own output, famine conditions will recur in greater or lesser degree. Furthermore, when the Nazis have been liquidated, continental Europe will also become a strongly competing outlet for the world's limited surplus of wheat.

Two inescapable inferences from this and other data are: (a) that India faces a long and difficult period of internal adjustment, during which her 50,000,000 urban population will be precariously placed in regard to food supplies, and (b) that in order to overcome these difficulties she will require intensive development of every form of industry within the ambit of her economic and financial resources. It will be lamentable if political antagonisms prevent her own leaders playing a full part in the direction and control of this variegated development, but it cannot be evaded or delayed merely on that account. Happily, the Government of India is displaying an acute awareness of the tremendous importance of the tasks awaiting them in these directions, while the fifteen-year plan of economic development formulated by eight leading industrialists and economists testifies that this awareness is not confined to official circles alone. Here, at least, we are all on common ground, and it rests with all parties concerned—in India under the leadership of Lord Wavell's Administration, and in Great Britain under the leadership of the Churchill Government—to evolve post-war economic plans designed to raise India's standards of production and living to the higher levels which have become as essential to her political progress and contentment as to her social welfare.

From the British angle there is nothing unselfish in such a programme, inasmuch as if British exports to India, which were halved during the inter-war period, are to regain their old volume an all-round development of India's own resources represents the first step on the road. The fact that such a decline in British exports occurred proves that in the last quarter of a century this country has put Indian interests in front of her own in the industrial sphere, and, if that policy has justified itself on political and economic grounds, the experience of two wars has proved that it is also essential for military reasons. In brief, despite all insinuations to the contrary, there is no British barrier to India's industrial advance, however far it may proceed. On the contrary—although this point is generally overlooked—while British and Dominion resources are largely identical and therefore competitive, British and Indian resources, basically for climatic reasons, are essentially complementary and therefore offer wider scope for commodity exchanges. More specifically, while British imports from the Dominions consist mainly of agricultural produce in direct competition with the output of British farms, Indian tea, spices, oil-seeds, cotton, jute, etc., are permanently outside our own range of production, and therefore form an unshakable foundation for mutual trade in the future as in the past. In other words, the content of Indo-British trade has changed, and may continue to change, but in the long run there is no inherent or insuperable hindrance to its total turnover reaching larger dimensions than we have hitherto known.

The fifteen-year plan for economic development sponsored by a number of Indian industrialists, including Messrs. Tata and Birla, which envisages an expenditure of £7,500 millions in order to bring about a 100 per cent. uplift in the standard of living, may expose considerable surface for criticism on financial and other grounds; nevertheless, speaking broadly, it shows the right approach. If adequate progress in this field is to occur at the right pace and in the right direction, clearly the main impulse

must come from within, although British technical and financial co-operation in many industries will remain indispensable for a long time to come. The Tata-Birla plan frankly presupposes the creation of a National Government for India as a whole, but it does not necessarily follow that important parts of the scheme must await implementation until this Utopian dream is fulfilled. On the contrary, as already noted, Lord Wavell's colleagues are already busy preparing comparable—if less ambitious and more practicable—plans to go into operation as soon as possible after hostilities cease and imported equipment becomes available.

For some years after the war it is obvious that Britain and the United States will stand out as the main sources of supply for the types of capital equipment India will be seeking, and one hopes that at least a measure of friendly co-operation will be negotiated in meeting these demands, subject only to the reservation that, in view of the scale of India's sterling balances, which may approach £1,000 millions ere peace returns, the bulk of India's requirements must *ipso facto* be satisfied in this country. In relation to India's post-war development projects now being worked out by the Government of India, the one indefensible line of action would be to delay progress for any reason, political or economic. As Lord Wavell insisted in his recent address to the Indian Legislature, while there is wide scope for development in India's main industry, agriculture, "there are also great commercial possibilities in India. There are mineral resources still undeveloped; there is abundant labour, a portion whereof has now attained a considerable degree of technical skill. India has many experienced and capable men of business. Her financial position at the end of the war should be a good one. There are almost unlimited markets, internal and external, for her produce." Contrariwise, India also has "many economic difficulties and disabilities," including the pressure of an increasing population, illiteracy, inadequate communications, etc. "Our great aim," said the Viceroy—and his declaration may be taken to rank as the most authoritative exposition of British policy and intentions—"must be to plan for economic and social development so as to raise our standards of living and general welfare. We must lift the poor man of India from poverty to security, from ill-health to vigour, from ignorance to understanding, and our rate of progress must no longer be at the bullock-cart standard, but at least at the pace of the handy and serviceable jeep."

Furthermore, as he showed in his prompt and efficacious handling of the food problem in Bengal, Lord Wavell is a man of action, and the economic reconstruction programmes initiated by his predecessor have been speeded up since his arrival and are now attaining measurable and impressive dimensions. In their formulation the assistance of Provincial and State Governments and of non-official agencies and experts is being freely invoked and employed. The plans under discussion affecting the extension of hydro-electric power typify the scale of action now in sight. Addressing the Reconstruction Committee, Sir Ramisami Mudaliar, now Supply Member after a term as member of the British War Cabinet, emphasized that from the agricultural point of view development of power would result in reclamation of land, the adoption of more scientific methods of cultivation, the narrowing of the margin between cultivable and uncultivable lands and the production of inorganic fertilizers at economic levels. He quoted Russia as a country where industries followed the development of electric power.

At the same meeting the Electrical Commissioner, Government of India, visualized the possibility of schemes totalling about 700,000 kilowatts of generating capacity as ranking for serious consideration in the immediate post-war programme. After a long and not very fertile interregnum, during which development of electric power has been mainly left to the Provinces and States, the Central Government are re-emerging as a co-ordinating agency, and more rapid progress may therefore be looked for. This readjustment has come none too soon. As Dr. Ambedkar, the Labour Member, noted in his address to the Reconstruction Committee, "without cheap and abundant electricity no effort for the industrialization of India can succeed. Population in India grows decade by decade in geometrical progression. As against this unlimited growth of population, what is available for cultivation is not merely a limited amount of land, but land whose fertility is diminishing year by year. . . . At every decade the negative balance between population and production is increasing

in an alarming degree, leaving India with an inheritance of poverty, more poverty, chronic poverty. It is industrialization alone which can drain away the excess of population which is exerting such enormous pressure on the land into gainful occupations other than agriculture. In other countries the problem of reconstruction is a problem of rehabilitation of industry which has been in existence. The problem of reconstruction in India, as I see it, is a problem mainly of industrialization as distinguished from rehabilitation in the ultimate sense of the removal of chronic poverty." In this comment there is at least no complacency!

Happily, the potentialities of agricultural improvement in India are greater than the Labour Member's analysis suggests; otherwise the food prospect would be dismal indeed. Dr. MacLagan Corrie, Indian Forest Service, addressing the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, recently estimated that with large-scale planning some 170,000,000 acres of *barani* land (land dependent on the rains alone and not irrigation) could be brought into full cultivation. Quoting American experience, he averred that the days of miracles are not past and that "India can make every one of its villages fit for heroes to live in if it follows the Tennessee Valley Authority's example." Continuing, he said: "The Army already possesses large forces of men trained to tractor driving, and also has machinery suitable for the purpose of road-graders and other earth-moving machinery. These could be employed by lending units and their machinery to Provincial Governments for definite projects in districts which have appreciable numbers of demobilized men returning to them. Much realignment of sloping lands could be done by bulldozers and road-grader machines. The only additional machinery required would be trailer ploughs capable of subsoil ploughing. These could be readily made up in local workshops, copying the type already in use in the Ingram estate at Palwal. Tractor power can be provided by Bren-carriers if tractors are not available. Even the worst areas of deeply gullied uplands can be brought once again under the plough by the use of mechanical tractors, road-graders, bulldozers, heavy subsoil ploughs, and even, where necessary, by use of explosives." In other words, when Japan has been defeated, let the Indian Army, or a considerable percentage of it, be remobilized as a Civil Development Corps to make India's waste-lands capable of yielding the food grains, dairy produce, vegetables and fruit her increasing population so urgently need.

India is fairly well equipped with railway transport, subject only to post-war rectification of the deficiencies and arrears in rolling stock made apparent during the war period. Road development, however, is only in its infancy, and Lord Wavell is rightly giving high priority to road extension and improvement. A twenty-year programme for building 400,000 miles of roads at a total cost of nearly £350,000,000 is suggested in a post-war development plan lately issued by the Government of India Department concerned.

The report suggests a unified and co-ordinated transport policy administered with the concurrence and co-operation of the Provinces and with the single purpose of providing cheap and efficient transport. This policy necessarily requires regulation and control of all forms of transport. There are many gaps in the framework of Indian railways which only road transport can fill. The introduction and development of motor transport in rural areas, the Committee say, will be of great advantage and benefit to the rural population as well as to trade and industry and the general prosperity of the country as a whole. Its picture of future rural India is one wherein motor transport will penetrate to the remotest villages, connecting them with the main transport system, and will play a gradually increasing part in marketing between village and market town and in distribution between town and village. Thus the villager will have at his disposal modern means of transport and communication with the outside world, and medical attention and other social services to no less proportionate degree than the town dweller. The Committee recommends that a start should be made now during the war, the Central Government distributing new motor vehicles for uses and under conditions approved by it. A start made now, besides lessening the magnitude of the post-war problem, will lay a strong foundation for future progress. An essential part of the plan is a co-ordination of rail and road transport to extract the maximum public advantage from both, but such a co-ordination is neither undesirable nor impracticable.

One new feature in India's post-war prospect is her possession of financial resources adequate to cover all but a fraction of the comprehensive development plans now in view. In a very able analysis embodied in an address to the Osmania University the Honourable Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, C.I.E., Finance Member, Hyderabad State, visualized the main features of the Indian position as it is likely to be when peace returns. These are:

(1) India has been turned from a debtor to a creditor country owning vast sterling balances in England against a large increase in her paper currency.

(2) The mopping up that has been found possible hitherto, due to various measures, cannot alone provide a complete remedy for easing the situation to a satisfactory degree.

(3) As soon as the war ends more shipping should become available and the factories in Europe and America would switch over to the manufacture of peace-time goods.

(4) The experience of the war has shown India the way towards greater industrialization. The Secretary of State for India has definitely declared that the policy of the Government of the post-war period would be towards greater industrialization.

(5) Any successful industrial policy of expansion and the consolidation of new industries started during the period of the war would involve the import of machinery and plant from Great Britain and America, as also the import of technical personnel from these countries.

In the opinion of this authority the recognition "of our dependence for plant and machinery and personnel mainly on Great Britain and to some extent on the U.S.A. should indicate the solution that should commend itself to people who have the industrial expansion of the country at heart. While the various committees of the Post-War Reconstruction Departments of the Governments in India are trying to find their course through uncharted seas it should be possible to set up a committee in England, with a branch in the U.S.A., consisting of business men or their representatives, representatives of the Government of India, the Provinces and important States, to sit in London now and arrange in consultation with British manufacturers for booking their capacity in the post-war period, and for obtaining necessary priorities for manufacture and shipment, and for settling terms in regard to fixation of prices." He adds that official and other "blue-prints" should be ready and available for use by the committee proposed.

India's political progress, owing to internal disunity, may tarry. For her economic retardation no excuse is possible.

ASIA ON THE AIR: A RADIO REVIEW

BY WINIFRED HOLMES

LISTENING to the quarter's Home and Forces programmes, one might imagine that only three countries in Asia—India, China, Japan—count or even exist. It is right that these three giants should dominate the radio landscape, but that landscape is dangerously incomplete when Turkey, Asia Minor, the Arab Peninsula, Persia, Afghanistan, Russia-in-Asia are left out, not to speak of the countries swallowed by Japan in her great drive to the south. When the war is over Britain will have to make some wise, imaginative and vital decisions concerning parts of the Asiatic continent. If public opinion really does influence policy in our democracy, then it must slough off ignorance and indifference now. It is the plain duty of responsible publicists to give ordinary non-travelling folk in this country the opportunity of knowing as much as possible about the countries, peoples and cultures of the whole of Asia.

Japan now rules one-fifth of the human race—three hundred million people—as John Morris, ex-lecturer in the University of Tokio and ex-adviser to the Japanese Foreign Office, said in his talk on December 16. In promising them “Asia for the Asiatics,” she speaks with a more dangerous voice than the German propagandists of the European “New Order.”

“If all we had to offer,” went on Morris, “were a return to the old state of affairs in our Far Eastern colonies, we certainly should not be welcomed back with open arms. . . . Although these people do not want Japanese domination, neither do they want anybody else’s. What they want is more than liberation. They want to be helped . . . towards a real freedom and a real justice. So the reconditioning of these millions of people is the size of the problem which will still confront us after we have beaten the Japanese, the problem of turning them away from the Japanese New Order to—well, what New Order do we offer?”

Japanese propaganda to “this huge heterogeneous mass of people” is based on German models. Lies are the coins used, but attractive ones to the people who hear them. Because of majority illiteracy, radio is the all-important medium used by the Celestial Goebbels. Besides the principal stations in Singapore, Rangoon, Bangkok, Sumatra and Java, dozens of small stations are pumping out day and night the benefits of the Japanese East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. . . . “Japanese might is used for liberation, but that of the Anglo-Americans for subjugation and exploitation.” Although the material benefits of Co-Prosperity may prove empty bubbles to all but the Japanese, the reiterated appeals to national pride and race animosity are falling on willing and receptive ears.

On February 1 Sir George Schuster did some plain and realistic speaking. The present movement towards setting up autonomous States in India and the Far East—the “Balkanization of South-East Asia”—would in the end have a serious effect on world peace and security. As centres of rivalry and intrigue by stronger Powers, these States might be torn by centuries of war and internal unrest where the *pax Britannica* ruled before. He described India’s geographical position as “nodal.” “This Indian Ocean region is one of the most important of the great strategic zones of the world. As General Smuts says, ‘Peace unbacked by power is a dream’; so is independence. . . . Finally, I would wish to say to Indians . . . ‘We stand on our past declaration. You are to frame your own Constitution and choose independence if you so desire, but that can have no sure foundation unless we can together build a structure of world security. . . . To play your full part will involve the development of Indian armed forces and Indian industry. I believe that from realistic discussion of such matters all parties in India might come to see clearly how the interests of our two nations fit in together and might then turn back to their own problems in a new spirit.’”

Through an interview in “Close-Up” with Leslie Mitchell, Forces listeners learned from Mr. Bhole, Labour Member of the Legislative Assembly, that the 50 millions of his fellow Untouchables are now making their demands for a New Deal, and that 2 million of them are volunteers in the Indian Army. They heard, too, that the vast majority of Indian workpeople are employed by Indians and are often, according to Mr. Bhole, who has their interests at heart as well as those of his own community, harshly treated by them. They heard, too, of the rise of the Labour and Trade Union Movement in India, which, as the country becomes rapidly industrialized, will play a more and more important part in the social structure of India.

Some elementary questions about India, sent in by the public, were answered clearly and objectively by Lady Runganadhan on December 15 in the series “Brush up your Empire.” The questions were varied; some showed a tragic ignorance, others a serious desire to really know something of present-day problems.

A feature programme on Nepal was pleasant listening, though it smelled of the study rather than of the fresh air of the mountains. The growing Indian Navy was honoured by the story of an heroic exploit of one of its destroyers. Wing-Commander Wilfred Russell gave a pleasantly descriptive talk on the R.A.F. in India—how they live and where they live, with a vivid picture of the tea-garden airfields on the eastern frontier. This talk was evidently designed for relations at home. Another

wing-commander flew across India and gave a Traveller's Tale about "Our troops: what do they find out there?" Answer: Fatehpur Sikri, a pair of silk pyjamas for a W.R.N., a village wedding, a conjuror. It was like the old lucky dip of our childhood. This programme left a faintly unpleasant taste in the mouth of anyone who knows India. The Tommies sounded like shallow tourists, the Indians apologetic—not at all the mood and temper of India today.

Finally, a delightful and scholarly talk by Eleanor Anderson on Chinese women past and present, which was buried in the poor listening-time of 9.30 a.m., should be praised. "China has her share of greedy, selfish people," said the speaker, "but the average modern Chinese woman is just about the best woman I know. She has remained a genius in the art of living, for all her modernity and active participation in the war. She has charm, simplicity, calm—everything a woman should have."

LINGUISTIC REFORM AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN THE NEW TURKEY

BY BAY NUZHET BABA

IN addition to the People's Houses, which help in the effort for social uplift and in the cultural development of the masses, there are two outstanding research societies set up to investigate the Turkish language and Turkish history.

The Arabic script, which was adopted by the Turks after they were converted to Muhammadanism, was not only unsuitable to the structure of our language, but was also extremely difficult to acquire. The learning of this old script was so difficult that students had to memorize the spelling and the pronunciation of the words. Thus the continuation of this writing was a great obstacle to the spread of learning in the country.

The need for the simplification of the alphabet was realized by the late President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who decided that in order to raise the cultural standing of the country and diminish the number of illiterates the obstacle of the Arabic script had to be eliminated once and for all. On June 1, 1928, the international numerals were adopted in place of the Arabic ones, and this constituted the beginning of the reform movement which culminated in the change of the script.

On August 9, 1928, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, during a festival held in Istanbul, announced his intention to adopt a new Turkish alphabet whose characters he would borrow from the Latin script. This speech was welcomed with great enthusiasm throughout the country, and the nation, realizing the great advantage to the future of the country that would accrue from this reform, spontaneously mobilized to learn and spread the new script. Afterwards Mustafa Kemal Atatürk immediately organized meetings for the leading linguists, professors and scientists of the country to draw up the plans of the new script.

The result of these efforts was the development of very simple and completely phonetic writing and reading. On November 3 of the same year the Grand National Assembly of Turkey voted and passed a law legalizing the new writing and making it the national script of Turkey.

The abandonment of the Arabic script and the change to the new characters meant the saving of an enormous amount of time in learning how to read and write, and at the same time it gave to the Turkish language a writing which was suitable to its character. With this reform the obstacle of Arabic script was eliminated and the road was paved for the cultural progress which was to proceed after this with leaps and bounds.

As soon as this decision to adopt the new Turkish characters was taken special

courses called "national schools" were opened in every part of the country, in the remotest villages as well as in the cities. The aim of these schools was to acquaint the people with the new script as quickly as possible. These national schools were open to all citizens of all ages and sexes and to illiterates as well as literates. These national schools became so popular that within a short time they became crowded and had to be multiplied. Those who attended the national schools, after passing an examination, were given a special certificate testifying that they could read and write in the new script. The success of these national schools is shown by the fact that within the short space of time of two years one and a half million complete illiterates, who before could neither read nor write, were taught to read and write in the new characters. Since that time the percentage of illiteracy has been constantly and enormously diminished. We owe this progress to the new script as well as to the improvement in the means and methods of instruction.

After the adoption of the new script the newspapers were, for a time, published in both the old and the new characters, with a guide on how to read the new script. Gradually the Arabic characters were completely abandoned and the newspapers came to be printed only in the new characters.

Books also began to be published in the new script. Now all the publications are printed in the new characters. The new generation knows only the new script and cannot read the old Arabic writing.

Thanks to the efficiency of the organization, the effort of the Government, and the enthusiasm and co-operation of the people, a reform of paramount importance was effected in an unbelievably short time.

Through the far-sightedness of Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü, our new President, and the enthusiasm of the people, Turkey now possesses the most modern and the most up-to-date script in the world.

During the last eight and a half centuries the Turkish language had been invaded by an enormous quantity of Arabic and Persian words and phrases. These phrases had kept their original grammatical rules, and, though completely foreign to Turkish grammar, had entered into our language.

The language had become so heterogeneous that it was difficult to teach it to the people. Consequently there had grown up a big gap between the language spoken by the masses of people and that spoken by those who were educated. It is evident that this state of affairs was detrimental to the cultural uplift of the country and had to be immediately remedied. The linguistic unity was felt and needed more than ever after the adoption of the new Turkish script, which had paved the way for the unity of a national culture.

To cope with this urgent need, Atatürk founded the Society for the Study of the Turkish Language on July 2, 1932. The aims of this Society are: the purification of the Turkish language of the Arabic and Persian elements, to fill the gap existing between the language spoken by the public at large and the élite, by giving the nation a uniform speech, and to give clarity and precision to the Turkish language. As such, this Society, created for a noble cause, plays, and will surely continue to play, a rôle of prime importance in the cultural development and future of our country.

Immediately after its establishment the Society proceeded to study ways and means by which this reform, of paramount importance to the future of Turkish culture, could be carried out to the best advantage.

And it can be said with certainty that it succeeded in the achievement of its objects, and in this success the changing of the writing played a great part.

Soon after its establishment, and after the completion of preliminary work, the Society began to compile the pure Turkish words and terms which were still surviving in the language spoken by the public masses, especially in the rural districts. These surviving words had been neglected and untouched by the Ottoman intellectuals, who were versed in the Arabic and Persian tongues to the detriment of their own language. The task undertaken by the Society was a gigantic one which called for a fine organization that would send its ramifications into the remotest villages, as well as precise methods and great patience.

But it succeeded in its task and achieved its goal. As a result of this painstaking work, an enormous quantity of pure and authentic Turkish words and terms, which

were destined to replace the Arabic and Persian terms that had invaded our language, were compiled and catalogued.

In this way the Society was able to restore to the Turkish language its incalculable richness in vocabulary as well as its clarity and precision. The Society has compiled 125,988 drawing cards of pure Turkish words and terms as well as a Turkish Ottoman index of 450 pages which contains 30,000 pure Turkish equivalents of 75,000 Arabic and Persian words. The researches of the Society continue ceaselessly on this subject, and every day new Turkish words are rediscovered and returned to our language.

The Society has published a terminological catalogue relating to all branches of learning, in which are contained pure Turkish equivalents of international scientific terms. Further and more detailed catalogues on this subject are being prepared. Thus the Society in a brief space of time has not only contributed towards the purification and unity of our language, but has also formed the foundation of the scientific Turkish terminology which will enable students and readers to grasp the meaning of scientific ideas much more easily.

The Society published the results of the researches of its staff with a view to enlightening the specialists as well as the public in general.

The Society has also undertaken to carry out a great task of linguistic philology by compiling dictionaries of Turkish idioms and a great Turkish encyclopædia which will consist of many volumes. Their researches include also Turkish grammar and syntax. The aims in this respect are to establish, to codify and to simplify the rules of our language, which is famous for its regularity among the languages of the world. The work done in this field, when completed, will facilitate the teaching of Turkish, and thus will promote the power of self-expression of the people.

In addition to its original researches, the Society has undertaken to publish translations of old texts as well as the leading foreign books on language and topics related to it, as well as on general subjects, and make them available to the public at a low price.

The sphere of activity of this Society is, however, not confined to the study of the Turkish language alone, but also includes studies relating to Indo-European and other language families and the determination of the relationship of the Turkish language to the other language groups.

The highly efficient and well-trained staff of this Society includes competent authorities on the Ural-Altaic languages as well as capable experts who have specialized in the study of most of the leading languages of the world. Each expert works in his field, but in matters concerning studies on comparative linguistics or philology, and on questions of the interrelationship between the Turkish and other language groups, these experts work as a well-concerted team and contribute collectively to the discovery of truth.

Under the old régime very little attention was given to history, which consisted mainly of descriptions of the doings of the Ottoman dynasty. The national and the cultural significance of history was not appreciated, and the historians of the time contented themselves, for the most part, with using as texts, even on Ottoman history, translations from the Western authors. These books written by foreign authors were not only inadequate in substance and full of errors, which were due to the lack of knowledge of the Turkish language on the part of the authors, as well as the lack of access to original documents which would enable them to draw a true picture of Turkish history, but also often had been written with a prejudice against the Turks.

Owing to the lack of proper guidance in the historical studies of the time there were no scientific methods, and consequently the results were often defective. As a result of this neglect the history of the Turks, especially its earliest phases, was in considerable obscurity. Such a state of affairs, so detrimental to the cultural standing and uplift of the country, could not be allowed to continue and had to be revised at the earliest possible moment. It was of paramount importance to the nation to know its past history correctly and the rôle played in the development of civilization from the Neolithic Age, when the foundations of modern civilization were laid, down to the present.

As a direct result of this urgent cultural need the Turkish Historical Society was founded, under the patronage of Kemal Atatürk, on April 15, 1931.

The members of the Society included the leading professors and learned men of the country working in history and the other fields mentioned below.

The Society immediately devoted its efforts to a methodical and objective study of the Turks in historic as well as in prehistoric times. The Society realized that history based on the study of the written documents would not be complete and that a full share had to be given to the spade, which would complete the evidence of the written documents as well as bring to light the periods when there was no writing. Only by the co-operation of these two methods, as well as others, could a complete history be written. Thus the Society tackled its problems from the historical, anthropological, archaeological, linguistic and geographic viewpoints and incorporated the results in its work.

The joint studies in these fields gave rise to the Turkish historical thesis.

The results of research in all these fields were first published in a book called *The General Outline of History*, which was followed by *A General History* in four volumes, which was issued as a text.

As I have pointed out above, a great part of the effort of the Society is spent in excavations in Turkey. Also excavations in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Iran and other neighbouring places have been planned.

Since 1933 the Society has excavated in Turkey a number of prehistoric and historic sites. These include excavations at Ahlatlibel, Karalar, Göllüdağ, Alahüyük, Thrace, Etiyokuşu (where Mousterian cultural remains were found *in situ*), Pazarli, Istanbul, Ankara, Karaoğlu, etc.

The excavations of the Historical Society are being continued at Konya, Alacahüyük, Karaoğlu and at Samsun (Dündartepe, etc.). Through these excavations the course of the bygone historic and prehistoric civilizations has been brought to light. The scientific reports of these excavations are published by the Society both in Turkish and in foreign languages, and are made available to the leading higher institutions abroad.

In addition to these archaeological reports the Society publishes a quarterly journal called *Belleten*, dealing with history and related subjects, in which are published the original brief reports of the research workers. The articles are published in Turkish, but some of them are also published in foreign languages. In addition the Society publishes memoirs and original books by members and non-members and encourages research in all the fields with which it is concerned. The Society also translates authors into Turkish and makes them available to the public at a low price.

The Society has held regular congresses in which the various problems were discussed and brought to light. Furthermore, the Society participates actively in all the international anthropological, archaeological and historical congresses and conferences, and there the delegates of the Society notify their foreign colleagues of their discoveries and researches in Turkey.

Moreover, the Society organizes each year lectures by its members or the staff of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography, which are open to all interested in history.

The Society is located in a section of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography of the University of Ankara, and is in close touch with the Department of Museums and Antiquities of the Ministry of Public Education, and co-operates with it in the protection of the historical monuments. The Society also gives fellowships to students graduating in history and thus enables them to study at the university.

WAR-TIME TURKEY BUILDS FOR PEACE

BY ALEXANDER HENDERSON

THE foreigner in Turkey, especially the journalist, business man and diplomat, spends so much of his time discussing the war and its effects on his particular job that he is apt to forget how many millions of Turkey's population seldom think about the war at all. In fact, to the majority of the Turkish people the great battles taking place in Europe seem very far away indeed. How far is not immediately obvious to the inhabitant of Istanbul and Ankara; it is not until one is travelling across the lonely, desolate plateau of Central Anatolia or through the passes of the Taurus that the distance—psychological even more than geographical—separating Turkey from Europe makes itself fully felt.

The actual size of the land mass of Asiatic Turkey is not always clearly realized. In a country that stretches from west to east about 1,000 miles—a distance greater than that between Berlin and Moscow—the effective separation of town from town is, from the human point of view, even greater than the mere mileage on the map because of the absence of rapid communications. The main railways are single-track lines only, and along them even so-called express trains move at what to the Western European seems a snail's pace. Modern motor roads hardly exist. Under these conditions life remains static; the hundreds of small towns and villages scattered about the vast territory of Anatolia remain isolated from the outside world as they have done for centuries. Even towns on the main railway lines pursue a rhythm of life far removed from that of industrialized Europe. Amidst the astonishing romantic landscapes presented, for instance, by such a town as Niğde, where the brown mud-built houses, terraced on a bluff, are accented by poplar and cypress against mountains of pearly grey and blue, it is difficult to remember the smoking chimneys of Sheffield or Pittsburg, to consider the importance of a bomber raid on military objectives, or to take a lively interest in the prospects for the second front. And once outside the main towns which are the points of contact with Europe and the present day, one feels a thousand miles and a thousand years from the world of newspaper headlines. So much of Turkey is psychologically still in the tenth century. In a country where over three-quarters of the population cannot read or write the conflicts of the nations, of rival political systems, are not readily understood or even seen as matters that demand attention and understanding. For the Anatolian peasant the outlook for the next harvest is rightly of more interest than the future organization of Europe.

Even in the main cities—in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir—the majority of the population pursues its various vocations without much thought to the war, except in so far as it is responsible for the rise in the cost of living. The people of Turkey still have time for the interests of peace; they are fortunate enough to be able even in the fifth year of a world struggle to develop the human amenities of their homeland. Notable among activities of this kind is the town-planning scheme being carried through in Istanbul.

Just before I left Turkey, Dr. Lütfi Kırdar, the Vali of Istanbul, presented me with a copy of the handsomely illustrated volume which he has had published to record the work done during the past few years in restoring Istanbul's ancient monuments and buildings, in laying out new avenues and squares, in clearing away old, broken-down dwellings and generally beautifying the city. The photographs printed in this book, which show side by side the old and the new, are impressive evidence of achievement.

Much of the work has been done during the past four years, and some quarters of both Beyoğlu (Pera) and old Istanbul must now be unrecognizable to those who have not visited the city since the war.

In 1940 the big ferro-concrete Eminönü Halkevi (People's House) was opened in Istanbul; likewise a new Customs house on Galata Quay, with a restaurant looking

out over the Marmara; and in Beyoğlu the Municipal Casino (a restaurant, dancing-floor and night-club; not, as the name suggests, a gambling establishment). There followed the rearrangement and replanting of the garden on the site of the old Petit Champs and of the road leading from the British Embassy to Bank Street and Galata Bridge, the laying out of lawns and flower-beds in Taksim Square, and finally the opening of a big *place* planted with trees and grass on the site of the drill-ground and barracks which formerly extended from the north side of Taksim Square.

When I arrived in Istanbul in 1940 the old barracks, though already condemned for demolition, still stood; with its biscuit-coloured plaster façade, its small pointed windows and onion-shaped cupolas it looked like a picture-book illustration of the old Turkey. Seen for the first time against a green and indigo evening sky, the crumbling masonry, abandoned to the rats and swallows save for one cellar lit by the flickering oil-lamp of an old watchman, had seemed the melancholy symbol of a bygone dusty soldiers' empire, had conjured up an image of a vast trail of territory baking in the sun for league after league through the Middle East, and across which crinkled long, straggling lines of dun, shrivelled troops. In a few months the last cartload of rubble had been taken away. In the place of the barracks gradually emerged the İnönü Promenade, with its neat gravel paths, rows of acacias and rect-angles of lawn.

Over on the Istanbul side of the Golden Horn another development of which the Municipality is proud is the wide Atatürk Boulevard, which has been driven through an area of crumbling hovels and waste land straight from the Ghazi Bridge (or Old Bridge, as it is more usually known) up to the Aqueduct of Valens (Bozdoğan Kemer), which now stands out impressively against the sky, its silhouette unbroken by the tumble-down dwellings that formerly encumbered the foreground. The Atatürk Boulevard still looks raw and unpolished, but when the trees have grown and the harsh whiteness of new concrete has mellowed it will be a fine shady avenue and a pleasant place for a stroll.

Both this development and the İnönü Promenade have brought air, light and order into what were before unsightly, dilapidated areas. Those who like picturesque squalor will no doubt regret this introduction of geometrical tidiness. But the Turks of today in general are more attracted by the new than the old, and welcome this modernization of their greatest city.

Both Turks and foreigners in Turkey sometimes wonder how it is possible to find money for this town-planning work at a time when the country is said to be suffering serious economic dislocation as a result of the war, and some critics think the money might well be used for other purposes. However that may be, even more elaborate schemes are in preparation for new parks, new highways to be driven through crowded quarters of the city, and even for an underground. It is hoped that most of these projects will be completed by 1953, when Turkey will celebrate on a grand scale the five hundredth anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II.

During and after the Kemalist revolution Istanbul was neglected for some years and Ankara was the spoilt child of the Republic. Now something is being done to restore the balance. I have heard it suggested among Turkish officials that the country will make a big effort after the war to secure more tourist traffic than she had in the past. In this Istanbul will clearly claim a major share, and no doubt on a long view the expenditure on cleaning up the city is a worth-while investment. Even more useful, however, than asphalt roads or public squares, which, it must be admitted, are banal in design and have nothing distinctively Turkish about them, would be the provision of more good hotels. Istanbul is singularly badly equipped in this respect and at present possesses only one hotel of normal European standards of cleanliness and comfort. So far the Municipality has done nothing in this matter.

The port of Istanbul is no longer the bustling scene it was before the war. All Allied shipping has since 1941 been diverted to Mersin and Iskenderun. The twin Rumanian luxury liners *Bessarabia* and *Transylvania*, which used to do the round trip Constantza-Istanbul-Piræus-Alexandria, have idled away the past three years in the Bosphorus, and few Axis vessels pass through the Straits now. The arrival of an occasional German tanker is a matter for comment, especially if, as happens now and

then, she puts in with a gaping hole in her plates from mine or torpedo. The position in Mersin and Iskenderun is just the contrary. Ton after ton of merchandise from Britain pours into these ports, which were never intended to handle the amount of traffic imposed on them by the exigencies of war. The result is that, despite the improved port installations supplied by Britain, goods remain for months and even years awaiting reshipment to Izmir or Istanbul.

To define briefly the character of Istanbul today, I would say that it is steadily becoming more Turkish, less cosmopolitan. After the war this development will be accentuated. Embassies and consulates now packed with busy staffs will return to their peace-time somnolence; the marble-floored corridors along which the high heels of typists click briskly will be silent once more. The foreigners will depart. And the permanent foreign residents, the British, American, French, German and other colonies, will grow less numerous and less influential. Already their one-time glory is much dimmed. The minorities, too—the Greeks, Armenians and Jews—have learned their unimportance; the *varlık* tax (capital levy) showed the non-Muslim that he was not wanted in Turkey.

Despite the cost of military preparations which necessitated the *varlık* and other taxes, Turkey does not make the impression of a country suffering economic hardship. Prices have risen to fantastic heights, but many people seem able to pay them. For instance, a man's suit now costs around £35 sterling, a pair of shoes from £7 to £10. The ordinary necessities of life cost far more than in Britain: sugar is 3s. a pound, flour 2s. 9d., butter 5s. 6d., coffee 9s., and tea 30s. The people who have suffered from this increase in the cost of living are those with fixed incomes, Government and municipal employees and the like, and the numerically small class of industrial workers. The Turkish merchants and the peasants appear to have prospered. During the past year especially numbers of the richer peasants have come into Istanbul with money to spend and have bought themselves house property, furniture, evenings at night clubs, and other products of civilization.

In the Budget for 1944 (the financial year begins on June 1) the Government recognized the difficulties of employees with fixed salaries and provided family allowances for public servants receiving small salaries on an ascending scale graded according to the number of children in the family. A further budgetary provision was for periodical distributions of food and clothing to officials. These measures were taken on the recommendation of a People's Party Committee set up to enquire into the growing number of cases of corruption in public offices.

There would seem to be further evidence of Turkey's prosperity in the size of the 1944 Budget, which estimates expenditure at 1,000 million Turkish pounds (approximately £142 millions), or three times the 1939 total, and which, according to the Minister of Finance, will be met from the regular sources of revenue without additional taxation. Of the 1,000 million lira, a sum of 548 million lira is carried on the ordinary Budget. Only a part of this is allocated to defence; further expenditure for military purposes, amounting to as much as the total ordinary Budget, is covered by periodical grants of extraordinary credits.

One of the surprising things about Turkey's administration which is not often noted is the amount of money spent on propaganda. The *Başvekâlet Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü* (Press Bureau attached to the Prime Minister's office) is, in effect, a Ministry of Propaganda and spends more than the Ministry of Commerce and about as much as the Ministry of Communications. Most of the work of the Press Bureau is done inside Turkey, but it seems certain that there will be a considerable increase in Turkish propaganda abroad in the next few years. There have been several indications of this. The appointment of Press attachés at Turkey's most important foreign Missions has been under consideration for some time; there are projects for more broadcasts in foreign languages, especially English, and for the development of news-reels and documentary films about Turkey. The head of the Press Bureau, Bay Selim Sarper, is one of the most forceful and able of the younger men in Turkish public life and seems certain of a distinguished future. It would not be surprising if he were one day to become Foreign Minister.

STRAY THOUGHTS ABOUT PERSIA

BY H. D. GRAVES LAW, C.I.E.

*"Is the Land finished?" he said.**His father smiled grimly. "That is impossible," he said.**"Why is it impossible?" asked the boy.**"After three thousand years of freedom," said his father, "it cannot be lost."**"But why not?" his son asked.**"You don't know what three thousand years are."**("Guerilla," by LORD DUNSANY.)*

A BRIEF paragraph in the newspapers informed us a short while ago that the Persian Legation in London had been raised to the status of an Embassy. This, for the "man in the street" in this country, was the postscript, the welcome postscript, to the Tehran Conference; the underlining of what Persia has done and endured in these last few difficult years. To those who had the good fortune to be associated more intimately with the Persian Legation in London, who had the privilege of meeting there under that most hospitable roof the Persian Minister, his Excellency Sayyid Hassan Taqizadeh, who presided over those many social occasions with such peculiar charm and dignity, it meant much more than that. To them it gave a lively personal satisfaction; for there was something almost unique about the Persian Legation: these gatherings had an atmosphere of friendliness and informality which is not usually associated with functions in official residences. It was, in fact, a bit of Persia, the Persia they had known and loved. And in that atmosphere and round that table the very idea of such a thing as the problem of "Anglo-Persian relations" seemed ludicrous.

Yet those who studied the many serious and well-informed articles about Persia which have appeared in this country in the past year or two must have reached the conclusion that all is not well with Persia; that she is struggling to introduce democratic government in face of a number of difficulties, political, financial, economic, which are accentuated by the long-continued presence of foreign—albeit Allied—troops in her midst; that her people and even some of her leaders are suffering from a sense of frustration and drift, even despair.

All these problems are real, all these difficulties serious. But it may be worth while to turn from them for a few moments and to consider, if we can, what is going on in the mind of Persia and her people at this time; to look at Persia not as a political, international or administrative entity, but as a spiritual one. To read the Persian Press is to gather the impression that this land which has known 3,000 years of independent existence, this land with its great past and great traditions, is, if not "finished," at least mortally sick; that the ills are well-nigh incurable, the poverty irremediable, the lack of education, the hunger, the administrative shortcomings all almost too deep for hope. Not very long ago, Rahnumá, that eminent writer and patriot, wrote a leading article in his paper *Irán* on the subject of the people's "thoughts."* He said that only a handful of people in Persia have enough freedom from actual want to be able to think; that the vast majority are too much obsessed with the problem of searching for the necessities of life; and that the few who have sufficient material security to be able to think, think of little else but their own selfish pleasures.

Is there any reason to accept without question the despondent diagnosis of "extreme sickness" which we get from a study of the Persian Press as a whole? We would all prefer to believe, and I think we have reason to believe, that such a

* *Irán*, December 28, 1943.

diagnosis is wrong, that the call of Mas'údi, the editor of *Iviláát*,* to the Government and people of Persia to "renew the life of the country," to "abandon pessimism and despair," is one which must be answered, which indeed is already being answered.

Persia is passing through a gruelling time; no one will deny that; though her troubles are infinitely less than is the lot of many of the countries of Europe. But her long history, which has given proof of her determined will to survival, the great natural gifts of her people, and the plentiful signs which exist of an awakening and a stirring of interest and curiosity make it impossible to suppose that her genius is dying or ever likely to die.

The truth of the situation—so far as the growth of the mind and spirit of Persia are concerned—seems to be that Persia has had to make too rapid a jump into the twentieth century. We more fortunate people in the West went through a slow and gradual process of education in the art of reading, not least in the direction of intellectual recreation. The novel, the essay, the theatre slowly evolved in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The cinema did not burst on us suddenly as it has done on Persia. We had been gently introduced to its compelling charms. From the legitimate stage to the silent film, from the silent film to the "movie," we passed decorously without undue haste. Not so Persia. Within a period of little more than ten years Persia had been brought face to face with the coloured film; and not only that but also with the radio, with concert parties and cabarets, with modern furniture, modern buildings, modern fabrics and fashions. Within the same period she has had to cope with the most notable, the most far-reaching social revolution of all—the emancipation of women—without much gradual process of evolution. Small wonder that Persia is a bit out of breath, a bit bewildered and uncertain of her standards. And the sudden withdrawal of the heavy hand of dictatorship added a further complication: it released a spring of which the recoil is still felt. At one moment damped by repression, the next moment elated by the gift of an unexpected freedom of thought and expression, the Persian mind rocked about uneasily. Soon it will acquire a more philosophic equilibrium. But in the meanwhile how is Persia reacting to this situation? What about the Press, to start with? The recoil of the spring brought into the open a thousand suppressed voices. Newspapers sprang up like mushrooms overnight. Within the past two years there have been as many as sixty or seventy daily papers in Tehran. Today there may be well over forty. What do they say? What is their message? Many of their editors are brilliant writers; but (to judge from those few papers which find their way to this country) they concern themselves for the most part with politics, current social and economic problems, world news. I have already mentioned the *Irán*, edited by Rahnumá. A random selection of four recent issues shows that he has devoted his leading articles to the following subjects: the fight against opium and alcohol; the troubles of telephone operators; education in the colleges of Persia; the lessons for Persia of the events of August, 1941.† All of them thoughtful articles on important subjects. But one searches the most influential Persian newspapers, if not in vain, yet without much hope of success, for discussions of more general, more cultural subjects: for reviews of books, for literary debate, for the ventilation of topics of general everyday interest through the (to us) familiar "correspondence columns"; for interesting and intelligent criticism of what is to be seen at the cinema or heard on the radio. As to the circulation of these papers there is some doubt. Copies pass freely from hand to hand. One cannot, however, resist the reflection that if fewer newspapers were published there would be a welcome increase in the supply of paper and printing facilities, let alone all the literary talent which is there, for the creation of literature of a more permanent value. The question, then, suggests itself: Does the Persian Press get at the people or reflect or lead the thoughts and entertain the minds of the people? Is there a popular Press? Is there, in fact, popular literature in Persia? Does the graceful wit of Hijázi's essays, do the critical studies of Mas'úd Farzád in his more serious mood, or the summer lightning

* Issue of December 14, 1943.

† When the Allied forces entered Persia and Reza Shah abdicated in favour of his son.

of his fancy in his more playful vein, do the stories of Jamálzádeh and others like him reach the many or only the few?

The answer probably is that there is not and cannot be a popular Press or popular literature, for the simple reason that the mass of the people is still unlettered. For centuries the story-teller had his niche in the cultural life of the people. Children's books, for instance, fairy stories and such like are unknown and were not needed because the family nurse or the grandmother was the repository of a perfect wealth of such stories and fables. But the story-tellers are dying out, the old nurses are passing away. What is to take their place? Is it not a hopeful and encouraging portent that the new *Children's Newspaper* (*Nau Nihálán*) which recently made its bow in Tehran has already, after a few months of life, reached a circulation of some 20,000 copies a week? For the first time the Persian boy and girl can read and enjoy adventure stories such as "Rupert of Henzau"—but only in Persian translation. The time may come soon when they will have their own romances, perhaps even their own Persian Sherlock Holmes!

In the preface to his collection of short stories, *Once upon a Time*,* Jamálzádeh offers an answer to the question why this should be so—why Persia, with its centuries of literary culture and tradition, should have fallen behindhand. Whether or not he is correct in his suggestion that "despotism" (*istibdád*), the political system under which Persia was guided for so many years, is responsible for the fact that in his country only the few have shared in the progress of thought and culture, there is no doubt as to the truth of his conclusions: that as a result of the lack of a more general education Persian writers have hitherto addressed their thoughts to the few, not to the many; that a bare handful of the people can enjoy literature; that even as to style there is a broad chasm between the spoken idiom of the people and the written word. On this basis he founds his view that one of the great needs in Persia (apart from a widespread increase in education) is the clothing of thought in language which the mass of the people will understand and in an idiom, such as the novel, which they will enjoy—the novel which he describes as being, in Europe, "one of the mightiest pillars of culture." *Once upon a Time* is an essay, brilliant and witty, in which Jamálzádeh puts his own theory into practice. Another writer of fiction who is rapidly coming to occupy a peculiar and much-debated place in contemporary Persian literature is Sádiq i Hidáyat. It would be rash presumption—indeed the height of folly—for a foreigner to attempt an estimate of Hidáyat's position in Persian literature today or tomorrow. Among those competent to judge, his literary style, even the content of his stories, are the subject of most divergent views. But this much I dare to suggest: that Hidáyat has much to say, that he says it in an original, even an arresting, manner; that he has imagination and insight: so that, although he writes often of what are to a foreigner unfamiliar people in unfamiliar surroundings, their sorrows, dreams and tragedies have a vivid, even a haunting, reality.

Whether Hidáyat is a very great writer or just a clever writer, or whether he is an unfortunate and regrettable accident, does not seem to me to be the important question. What is important, what we would dearly like to know, is whether Hidáyat is or is not an isolated phenomenon. Whether he is or is not a pioneer, to be followed by others, in forming a new school of fiction in Persia. That the question arouses interest and discussion, that there should be a debate about it at all, is surely a healthy sign. It can scarcely be denied that in a field where there are so few fellow-workers in Persia today—indeed, for that very reason—Hidáyat is a force to be reckoned with on any account and by any standards.

And now a new cultural monthly review has been started in Tehran (to which, by the way, Hidáyat himself is a regular contributor) called *Sukhan*. This review, the first of its kind, appeared in Tehran in the early summer of 1943 under the directorship of Zebih Ullah Safá and the editorial control of Parváz Nátal i Khanlari. The contents of this review are illuminating and encouraging. For besides articles on such familiar topics as educational policy, economics, history and philosophy, there is a regular series of translations of English, Czech, Chinese and American poems,

* *Yaqi Búd Yaqi Nabúd*. Second edition. Tehran, 1942.

articles on music, and critical literary articles. Every issue reveals, so far, a wish and intention to "renew the life of the country" which *Intilâât* asked for, in matters of the mind, to open fresh streams of thought and idea on to the parched plains.

Where do the traditionalists stand in all this? What about the great masters of Persian literature of the past which have for so many centuries commanded the respect and devotion of the people? Firdausi, Hafiz, Rumi, Nizami, Saadi—these names have for so long enshrined the very genius of Persia. Are their standards to be forgotten? Are their classical masterpieces to be relegated to the museum, to become a heritage of the past instead of a part of the living present? The question has only to be put to be answered with a vigorous "No." On the contrary, they are part of the national life of Persia. And, further, there is a tremendous amount of work being done, and still waiting to be done, not only on the preparation of authoritative texts of some of the classics, but on actual salvage operations. There is, it is certain, a large hidden treasure of important works of the past existing in manuscript in all sorts of places of which even the cataloguing, let alone the editing and printing, has still to be done. But those tasks and the devotion to the past which will fulfil them need not preclude an alert realization of what is being written and said today. In a series of thoughtful articles entitled "Yesterday and Today," Khanlari, the editor of *Sukhan*, draws up a balance-sheet as between the ancient and the modern. He does not spare the unformed literary taste and uncertain standards of much of "modern" Persian literature; he deplores the ignorance of the classics of which many writers of today are guilty. But also he is not afraid to argue that the old masters did not say the last word, that to imitate too slavishly the past in style and in idea is to be divorced from the realities of today. His further point that the great writers of the past were themselves remote from the life and thoughts of the people of their time will be hotly contested. And surely that could never be said of Saadi, who is both now and for all time the very living embodiment of Persian wit and wisdom. But we must agree with Khanlari's reflection that modern ways and modern times have worked a profound change in the relations between writer and reader. Although universal education in Persia is still only a ten-year plan in its infancy, the reading public in Persia has increased of recent years. The art of printing and the business of publishing have brought contemporary literature to the reach of large numbers of the people; and the writer of today is not only more independent of patronage than the writer of the old days, but has a very different public to cater for. The thoughts of writer and reader must be fused together; everyday problems must be discussed in the language of the day.

All this is suggestive, thought-provoking; though it still leaves unanswered the question of how those who cannot read are to be approached. But now the radio and the cinema have opened entirely new channels for the spread of ideas, of amusement, and of culture. What a revolution! If modern fiction can still be read only by the few, it can be heard by the many on the wireless; if the art of the drama is backward in Persia, radio plays can (and do) take the place of the stage play. And the desire to hear more will be created.

Radio Tehran, which began its life four years ago, in April, 1940, now gives a balanced programme of eight and a half hours a day. It is true that as yet the number of receiving sets in Persia is small—far too small. But time will remedy that. Its influence is only at the beginning. News, physical exercises, Eastern and Western music, literary talks, general talks on education, health and hygiene, scientific talks—what an enormous, what an unlimited vista of opportunity is there for education, for entertainment, for bringing the wisdom of the past and the culture of the present to ever-wider circles of the public!

And where neither the printed word is understood, nor the wireless heard, the cinema screen gives its pictured message. There are some forty cinemas in Persia: several, of the most up-to-date kind, in the capital; others in all the large towns. But the most startling phenomenon is the mobile cinema van, of which some half-dozen are continually touring Persia and bringing to the most remote villages, over the most difficult roads, through the dust of summer and the snows of winter, the news of the world, the triumphs of Hollywood and Ealing, and the universal Mickey Mouse. Can it be possible that in the province of Azerbaijan, for instance, the

monthly attendance at these performances has been as high as 120,000? Yet so we have been told. We hear that in the Kerman province as many as one-third of the population of the villages turn out. Whether these shows are held in village halls or in the open street, their popularity is almost embarrassing to the operators and staff. It is a case very nearly of "roses, roses all the way," a triumphal procession marked by ice-creams, pastry and applause. The unfamiliar sight and the sound and fury of large tanks and bombers may frighten a few of the more simple souls, but the world at war is by no means even a large proportion of what they see; nor is the fantastic or amusing. Romantic "features" like "Lady Hamilton" have been seen and enjoyed by very many people. Perhaps the most popular film ever shown in Persia is the British Council's beautiful technicolour film, "The Gardens of England," a film with which some of the cinema proprietors in the provinces who showed it could barely be persuaded to part. Everyone loved this film, from the highest to the lowest. At one place in Kermanshah, where there was a showing in a street, a Kurdish tribesman was heard to call out to a friend arriving late, "Hurry up, and come and see Paradise," to which a spectator who had already seen "Desert Victory," which was to follow in the programme, added the remark, "Yes, and after that you'll be seeing hell!"

The film, like the radio—perhaps even more than the radio—offers enormous possibilities of educating public opinion, of which the British Council in Persia and the Persian Government authorities are already taking full advantage. It can and does reach not only the youth of the country in the schools, but the masses beyond the reach of ordinary education.

The curiosity which is being aroused in all manner of directions is coming to focus itself to a quite considerable extent on England, on things English, on the ways of life in this country. There is growing in Persia an almost insatiable appetite for learning English, for reading English books (and not only "Penguins" and detective stories by any means), for English reviews and magazines, for translations of English writing into Persian. It is startling, too, to learn from an order placed recently with a publishing house in England by a Tehran bookseller that the men and women in Tehran today are reading such a variety of contemporary English journalism. *Vogue* and the *Film Weekly*, the *Sphere* and the *Picture-Goer* one can understand. But it is certainly instructive to find that a Persian bookseller can feel justified in ordering not inconsiderable quantities of the *Dancing Times*, *Wellton's Dressmaker and Catalogue of Fashions*, *Architecture Illustrated*, and *Health and Strength*, the *Melody Maker* and *Constructional Engineering*.

A change is indeed coming over the mind of Persia today. It is of tremendous importance that the opportunity should be seized and that the flow of thought should be guided by wisdom and careful and generous planning. The translation of the best of contemporary English literature as well as of the masterpieces of the past into the Persian language must be skilfully and sedulously carried out.* The task has only just been begun. Where some notable Persian writers (including one or two now working with us in London) have shown the way, let others follow. The brilliant translation of *The Hound of Heaven* by Muṭṭabā Minovī,† into which he has packed so much sympathetic insight and such a vivid sense of the sound of language, is, let us hope, only the forerunner of many others which must come from his pen.

The knowledge gained by a study of the works of the best foreign writers and of their methods and technique will, however, only be of value to Persia if her writers refuse to allow themselves to be unduly influenced, if their thought is creative and not just imitative, and their approach Persian—as essentially Persian as, let us say, Anthony Trollope is essentially English or Damon Runyan American. Whatever new line he may strike out, the Persian writer of today must be true to the native genius of his own country. Hijāzi, for instance, may remind an Englishman of Charles Lamb, but he is thoroughly and properly Persian: his delightful essay, "A

* This, of course, will have to be a two-way traffic. But that is another story.

† Published in the first issue of the *Rúzgār i Nau*, London, 1942.

No-Ruz Diversion,"* recalls the beauties of Shímrán just as keenly as the sounds of the bazaars and the Persian countryside live again in the sombre pages of *The Woman who lost her Husband*† or the smell of the sea at Bushíre in *The Lead Soldier*.‡

What part will women play in all this? That question has still to be answered. That there is an opening for the women of Persia in many spheres of work for their country is recognized on all sides. The "women's movement," under the patronage and with the personal support of Her Imperial Majesty Queen Fawziéh, is an organized movement. The women of Persia have a great deal to do, as Dr. Rezázádeh Shafaq said in a recent address to them,§ in the three spheres of economic, moral and social life. The profession of literature, the cultivation of the arts, is another sphere in which they can contribute much and in which they can follow the lead given to them by Parvín I'tisámí, that distinguished poetess of modern Persia. Already Tehran Radio has its women announcers, and a new monthly magazine devoted to the interests of the women of Persia has been planned and will shortly be launched. The door, in fact, is ajar.

It would be pure self-deception to deny that there are many and grievous anxieties facing Persia now. They press heavily on the country with an insistence which is the more alarming in that they have come suddenly, all together, at a time when the hands of her leaders are not entirely free. The creation of literature, the growth of new ideas and forms of expression are perhaps difficult in times like these, when politics and questions of internal economy and reform inevitably claim so much attention. But given time and energy and tranquillity to work out these problems in her own way—and the Tehran announcement gives the promise that Persia *will* have the time and the opportunity—given the sympathy and encouragement of all those who love Persia, who admire her past and respect her hopes of increased freedom and prosperity today, then she will find the answers. She will find at the same time the leisure to develop the thought and poetry and art of her people which (as Viscount Wavell has recently said in a very different connection and to another people) is "the salt of life." The tide has begun to flow, there is no doubt about that. The signs are there, plain to be seen. But if the movement is to live and expand, it needs help and encouragement from outside as well as from the source of its own inner strength. The glories of the past are there for all time; they can never be forgotten. But they must be matched by a vigorous faith in the present and the future, by courage and self-confidence.

"Only one thing will save us," says one of the characters in Prokosch's novel *The Conspirators*, "the divine fire of the people. Words like 'freedom' will only save us when they point to the future and not to the past; when they point to action and not to memory; when they point to enthusiasm and change, not to caution and self-preservation."

Change and enthusiasm; but, above all, enthusiasm. There is a change, deep down, in Persia; and not only on the surface. One hears on all sides the beating of many wings.

* From *Ayineh*, by Mir Muhammad Hijázi.

† From the collection of tales by Sádiq i Hidáyat, entitled *Sáyeḥ Raushan*.

‡ From *Chamedán*, a collection of short stories by A. Buzurg i Alavi.

§ Quoted in the newspaper *Mash'al* (*The Torch*), Azar 30, 1322.

PERSIAN JONES*

BY A. J. ARBERRY

"He too, whom Indus and the Ganges mourn,
 The glory of their banks, from Isis torn,
 In learning's strength is fled, in judgment's prime,
 In science temp'rate, various, and sublime;
 To him familiar every legal doom,
 The courts of Athens, or the halls of Rome,
 Or Hindoo Vedas taught; for him the Muse
 Distill'd from every flow'r Hyblæan dews;
 Firm, when exalted, in demeanour grave,
 Mercy and truth were his, he lov'd to save.
 His mind collected; at opinion's shock
 JONES stood unmov'd, and from the Christian rock,
 Cælestial brightness beaming on his breast,
 He saw the STAR, and worshipp'd in the East."

With these lines the anonymous author of *The Pursuits of Literature* paid tribute in his fourth Dialogue, first published in July, 1797, to a great scholar and a great man who had died three years previously at Calcutta. The name of Sir William Jones will be familiar to you all, though neglected if not wholly forgotten by the general public. In his day he enjoyed a fame which extended far beyond the shores of his native England; and it was a fame as various as it was unchallenged. Harmonious Jones, Persian Jones, Accomplished Jones, the English Cato—these are some of the admiring titles by which he was known. James Elwes wrote thirty years after the great orientalist's death: "The variety, value, and extent of the character of Sir William Jones, are acknowledged wherever the English language is spoken or understood. The immensity of his literary attainments, his fertile capacity, his great and unerring judgment, his zeal, his patriotism, and his public services to his country, in the administration of justice in her most important colony, India, are as universally acknowledged at home as they are felt and valued in our Eastern settlements. His works are a monument of his greatness. . . . It is delightful, instructive, and exhilarating, to follow this great lawyer, unbending from a pursuit which generally requires the entire occupation of the strongest minds, informing, amusing, and enlightening his auditors and readers with discussions on law; language; the elegant literature of France, Spain and Italy, by turns with that of Greece and Rome; diving into 'Hebrew with ease and success'; acquiring the Arabic and Persian with an accuracy acknowledged by natives to be equal to their own; conversant with the Turkish idiom, and the characters of that singularly constructed language, the Chinese; reading, translating, and writing law, religion, and poetry with equal profoundness, sincerity, and elegance. He was a phenomenon in literature, and one of the greatest ornaments of the English name." This encomium, elegant and comprehensive after the prevailing fashion of the time in which it was composed, nevertheless falls short of covering all Jones's varied titles to fame; for it omits to mention of him that he was a profound scholar of Sanskrit; a botanist of distinction—he gave his name to a genus of plants; an *enfant terrible* of republican politics; a chess-player of considerable skill, and one who wrote a heroic poem in honour of the ancient game; no mean mathematician; a pioneer of the sciences of comparative religion and comparative philology; and a respected friend of such diverse men as Samuel Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, Edmund Burke, Horace Walpole, and Edward Gibbon. Nor could Elwes have fore-

* Lecture to the Iran Society, delivered on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the death of Sir William Jones.

seen that Jones's influence would have shown itself in the writings of such celebrities as Byron, Southey, Shelley, Moore, Borrow, and Tennyson.

But I do not appear before you this afternoon in order to enumerate, much less describe, all the mental and moral qualities which made of William Jones a portent in his generation, an inspiration for all successive ages. To make such an attempt would be to detain us here until an unreasonable hour. I content myself and, I hope, satisfy my hearers by touching on only one aspect of Jones's universal genius, but that an aspect which will appeal most intimately to this Society: what he contributed to the study and interpretation of Persian literature.

William Jones was born in London on St. Michael's Eve, 1746, the second son and third child of William Jones, mathematician, friend and interpreter of Isaac Newton, Fellow and Vice-President of the Royal Society; and of Maria, youngest daughter of George Nix, a famous cabinet-maker and chief rival of Chippendale. The child was orphaned of his father before his third birthday, and his mother, an ingenious lady of advanced views, herself cared for his early education: by the age of four he could read fluently, and was soon under the spell of Shakespeare, his mother's favourite textbook. In the autumn of 1753 he was sent to Harrow, and there, after a slow beginning, partly explained by indifferent health and partly to an allergic reaction to the old-fashioned system of pedagogy still practised at that time, he suddenly blossomed forth into rare brilliance: by the age of twelve, when he moved into Upper School, he had already established a legend for precocious learning. I pass over many interesting details of his school career—in after years his name carved on a desk was circled with brass and proudly pointed out to visitors—and briefly mention that he went up to University College, Oxford, as a scholar on the Sir Simon Bennett foundation, in 1764, and was elected to a Fellowship two years later.

Jones came to orientalism in the first place through Hebrew, which he studied already at Harrow. As a freshman he invited an Arab of Aleppo to stay at Oxford, hoping that others anxious to learn from him would assist in providing his keep; this hope was disappointed, and he almost beggared himself before parting with his dragoman, who meanwhile had made him competent to read Arabic. It must have been about this time that Jones taught himself Persian. His textbooks were few: John Greaves's *Elementa Linguae Persicae* (London, 1649), George Gentius' edition (Amsterdam, 1651) of the *Gulistan*, and Meninski's lexicon. By 1766 the fame of his competence in orientalism had already so increased that the Duke of Grafton invited him to become official interpreter in Eastern languages to the Treasury, an offer which was modestly declined in favour of continuing as private tutor to the child Lord Althorp, son of Earl Spencer. His pupil was later to become First Lord of the Admiralty and Horatio Nelson's patron: he sent Nelson to his independent command in the Mediterranean which led to the Battle of the Nile and put an end to Napoleon's dreams of an Eastern empire. Two years later the Duke of Grafton again approached him with an official invitation to translate into French for King Christian VII. of Denmark a Persian manuscript containing the biography of Nadir Shah. Again Jones declined the honour, proposing as his substitute Alexander Dow, the interpreter of Ferishta; but when Dow excused himself, the young scholar, with much trepidation, at last consented. The task was completed within a year, and published in 1770.

This was Jones's first publication, and the firstfruits of a rapidly augmenting erudition. The commission was hardly worthy of his talents or agreeable to his literary tastes, but it was executed with characteristic punctiliousness and elegance. His feelings on the subject were expressively described in a later work: "I will fairly confess, that, had I been left to my own choice, it would have been the last manuscript in the world, which I should have thought of translating: out of so many Persian books of poetry, ethnics, criticism, science, history, it would have been easy to have selected one more worthy of the public attention; and the works of Hafez or Sadi might have been printed for half the expense, and in half the time." What is much more interesting than the translation itself is an essay on oriental poetry which Jones appended to it. He had been working since 1766 on a more ambitious plan which was to mature when he published in Latin his *Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry*; and the essay which accompanied his Nadir Shah into the world is thus in the nature of a *brouillon* of the larger treatise. The author covers a very wide field, and I will only

refer here to those parts of the essay which relate to Persian literature. "La langue Persane," he writes, "est remplie de douceur & d'harmonie; joignant à la richesse de son propre fond celle de plusieurs mots qu'elle a reçus de la langue Arabe, elle surpasse celle-ci en une beauté fort essentielle à la poésie, qui est l'usage des mots composés, auxquels les Arabes sont si contraires, que pour les éviter ils emploient de longues circonlocutions. En général, aucun idiome ne peut entrer en comparaison avec le Persan pour la délicatesse & la variété de ses mots composés." In the course of the essay Jones offers numerous examples of various types of Persian poetry. He gives a brief account of the *Shah-nameh*, sufficiently detailed to prove that he had already studied Firdausi at some length—he later read the whole epic through twice, as we learn from his letters. It is interesting to note in passing that the first version of any part of the *Shah-nameh* to appear in any European language is a set of Latin hexameters published by Jones in his *Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry*, to which I shall return presently; the first, that is, apart from the French prose renderings of occasional extracts which are contained in this essay. Jones compares Firdausi with Homer, by no means to the disadvantage of the Persian poet: a theme which recurs in his later writings, as when he says: "There is certainly a very great resemblance between the works of those extraordinary men: both drew their images from nature herself, without catching them only by reflection, and painting, in the manner of the modern poets, the likeness of a likeness; and both possessed, in an eminent degree, that rich and creative imagination, which is the very soul of poetry" (*Collected Works* [London, 1799], vol. iv., p. 545). From heroic poetry Jones passes on to lyric, where he again shows his remarkable powers of literary criticism: "Les Persans excellent sur toutes choses dans leurs odes amoureuses. . . . Il est surprenant combien les odes d'Hafiz ressemblent aux fragmens que nous avons des poètes lyriques de la Grèce. On peut avancer avec vérité, que ce poète a tout l'agrément & la vivacité d'Anacréon, avec la douceur & les charmes de Sapho." He offers prose translations of ten of Hafiz' odes, being the first European scholar to do so much; and appends to his essay versions in French verse of these odes and three more, an extraordinary example of his virtuosity. I cannot refrain from quoting as a specimen his version of Hafiz' celebrated description of Shiraz:

"Honneur à toi, belle contrée
CHIRAZ! séjour délicieux!
Qu'à jamais la faveur des cieux
Préserve ta terre sacrée!
O ROGNABAD! puissent tes eaux
Où l'on puise la longue vie,
Qui rend KHEDJER digne d'envie,
Se conserver en clairs Ruisseaux.

GIAFERABAD! de tes Allées,
De tes verts Sentiers, MOSELLA!
Nul Parfum jamais n'égala
Les douces odeurs exhalées!
Hâtez-vous, venez à CHIRAZ,
Vous tous qui cherchez les délices
Rendez ses Habitans propices;
Ils ont des Anges les appas.

Du sucre dont l'EGYPTE abonde,
O vous qui vantez la douceur!
Venez connoître votre erreur,
Dans cette Ville sans seconde:
De ses Prés parcourez l'émail;
Volez à ses Nymphes charmantes,
Et de leurs lèvres séduisantes
Pressez le tendre & doux Corail.

Et toi, rivale de Zéphire,
Aure du matin des Plaisirs,
Que fait l'Objet de mes désirs,
Quand pour ses charmes je soupire?
Mais pourquoi d'un heureux sommeil
As-tu dissipé le nuage?
J'y jouissois de son image,
Qui vient de fuir à mon réveil.

Chère Aure, sois ma Messagère,
Dis à l'Objet de mon Ardeur,
Que s'il veut le sang de mon cœur,
Ma main aussitôt pour lui plaire,
Le répandant à son souhait,
Il l'auroit en même abondance,
Que sa Mère, en sa tendre enfance,
Lui laissoit prendre de son lait.

HAFIZ, quand le poids de l'absence
Ton triste cœur tient oppressé;
Quand, par le Destin menacé,
Il craint une longue souffrance;
Songe à ces temps délicieux,
Où l'aimable Objet de ta flamme
En plaisir envivroit ton ame,
Et de ces temps rends grâce aux Cieux.

From these extracts you may judge of the degree of success which Jones had already achieved, by his twenty-fifth year, in his unaided studies of Persian. But he was not content to establish a monopoly of his knowledge; he now began to put into shape the grammar of the Persian language on which he had been working for some years. Before discussing this celebrated work, however, it will be convenient to refer briefly to a friendship which its author had meanwhile formed with a Polish nobleman, a friendship which was a decisive factor in his intellectual development. It was during the early months of 1768, while still employed in the Spencer household, that Jones met Count Reviczki in London. The two quickly discovered a common interest in their admiration of the Persian language. "How charming for me," wrote the young scholar in impetuous Latin, "was that half-hour, in which I spoke with you of the Persian poets, my delight and yours. . . . Certainly, you are most learned in Asiatic letters; that I may become learned in them is my endeavour, to this end I strive and labour. I will not suffer you to prevail over me in love for these letters, for so incredibly am I charmed by them, that nothing could exceed it." Reviczki, in his reply, is equally enthusiastic, and the correspondence thus begun continued intermittently down to the year 1789. The Polish scholar, who was a diplomat by profession, was engaged in translating some odes of Hafiz when he first met Jones, and we find him submitting his versions from time to time for the approval of the younger man: he eventually produced an edition and translations of selected poems at Vienna in 1771. Towards the end of 1768 Reviczki was about to leave England, and Jones then wrote to him from Oxford: "I beg and beseech you again and again, in whatever region you may travel, that you will remember me, and send me letters as soon, as often, and as long as possible. Believe me, nothing has ever been nor could be more delightful to me than your friendship." Jones's biographer, Lord Teignmouth, fortunately published a considerable number of the letters exchanged by these two friends, and from these I extract two typical comments of Jones on Persian poetry. April, 1768: "Our favourite Hafiz deserves indeed to be fed upon ambrosia, and I daily discover with increasing delight new beauties and elegances in him. The principal difficulty attending the translation and publication of his poems as you have begun, consists in giving them a poetical dress; but this will prove easier than you imagine; for there are many of his odes, which I conclude you will not attempt to

translate, as containing expressions wholly foreign to our manners, lofty and daring figures, or abrupt unconnected lines, and this will in some measure alleviate the Herculean labour of the task." March, 1771: "I am highly delighted with Jami's poem of Yusef and Zuleika; it contains somewhat more than four thousand couplets, each of which is a star of the first brilliance."

In 1771 appeared the first edition of Jones's *Grammar of the Persian Language*, a work which continued unsuperseded through many subsequent printings and over a considerable number of years, and was the means of introducing a host of Englishmen to the tongue of Firdausi and Hafiz. The book is indeed worthy even now of attention, both on account of its general contents and also because it includes a highly interesting preliminary discourse and an elegant and famous version of a celebrated ode of Hafiz. In the former there are traces, as I am told by Mr. R. W. Chapman, of the influence of Samuel Johnson, whom Jones must have met about this time, and certainly admired: it contains many things that are eminently quotable, but I must confine myself to a few brief extracts. "The Persian language," Jones begins, "is rich, melodious, and elegant; it has been spoken for many ages by the greatest princes in the politest courts of Asia; and a number of admirable works have been written in it by historians, philosophers, and poets, who found it capable of expressing with equal advantage the most beautiful and the most elevated sentiments. It must seem strange, therefore, that the study of this language should be so little cultivated at a time when a taste for general and diffusive learning seems universally to prevail; and that the fine productions of a celebrated nation should remain in manuscript upon the shelves of our public libraries, without a single admirer who might open their treasures to his countrymen, and display their beauties to the light." Jones proceeds to analyse the reasons for this lamentable neglect—ignorance, religious prejudice, and the scarcity of books to facilitate the study of the language. He also blames the learned for their share in making the subject unattractive to the inquirer. "Most of them have confined their study to the minute researches of verbal criticism; like men who discover a precious mine, but instead of searching for the rich ore, or for gems, amuse themselves with collecting smooth pebbles and pieces of crystal. Others mistook reading for learning, which ought to be carefully distinguished by every man of sense, and were satisfied with running over a great number of manuscripts in a superficial manner, without condescending to be stopped by their difficulty, or to dwell upon their beauty and elegance. . . . There is nothing which has tended more to bring polite letters into discredit, than the total insensibility of commentators and critics to the beauties of the authors whom they profess to illustrate: few of them seem to have received the smallest pleasure from the most elegant compositions unless they found some mistake of a transcriber to be corrected, or some established reading to be changed, some obscure passage to be explained, or some clear passage to be made obscure by their notes. It is a circumstance equally unfortunate, that men of the most refined taste and the brightest parts are apt to look upon a close application to the study of languages as inconsistent with their spirit and genius: so that the state of letters seems to be divided into two classes, men of learning who have no taste, and men of taste who have no learning." If the condition of affairs which Jones in his time deplored has since greatly changed, credit for this fortunate development belongs in no small measure to his example, for he proved himself to be an almost perfect example of the scholar whose minute and tireless erudition never corrupted his fine literary judgment: his spiritual posterity includes such men as Edward Fitzgerald, E. G. Browne, and R. A. Nicholson. It would perhaps be a fair comment to say that Jones represents in an exalted degree what we have come to recognize as the authentic spirit of British scholarship; while it is not difficult to find examples of the type of learning he condemns in the German tradition.

Jones ends his prolegomena with some interesting practical advice on how best to learn Persian. These notes have a peculiar value as coming from a man who in his time acquired some thirty tongues, and must certainly be reckoned one of the world's greatest linguists. "When the student can read the characters with fluency," he writes, "and has learned the true pronunciation of every letter from the mouth of a native, let him peruse the grammar with attention, and commit to memory the regular inflexions of the nouns and verbs: he needs not burden his mind with those that

deviate from the common form, as they will be insensibly learned in a short course of reading. By this time he will find a dictionary necessary. . . . He may proceed by the help of this work to analyse the passages quoted in the grammar, and to examine in what manner they illustrate the rules; in the meantime he must not neglect to converse with his living instructor, and to learn from him the phrases of common discourse, and the names of visible objects, which he will soon imprint on his memory, if he will take the trouble to look for them in the dictionary. . . . The first book that I would recommend to him is the *Gulistan*, or *Bed of Roses*, a work which is highly esteemed in the East, and of which there are several translations in the languages of Europe: the manuscripts of this book are very common; and by comparing them with the printed edition of Gentius, he will soon learn the beautiful flowing hand used in Persia, which consists of bold strokes and flourishes, and cannot be imitated by our types. It will then be a proper time for him to read some short and easy chapter in this work, and to translate it into his native tongue with the utmost exactness; let him then lay aside the original, and after a proper interval let him turn the same chapter back into Persian by the assistance of the grammar and dictionary; let him afterwards compare his second translation with the original, and correct its faults according to that model. This is the exercise so often recommended by the old rhetoricians, by which a student will gradually acquire the style and manner of any author, whom he desires to imitate, and by which almost any language may be learned in six months with ease and pleasure."

The concluding paragraph of Jones's preface is an eloquent *apologia pro litteris orientalibus*, and will, I think, meet with the approval of us all: "As to the literature of Asia, it will not, perhaps, be essentially useful to the greater part of mankind, who have neither leisure nor inclination to cultivate so extensive a branch of learning; but the civil and natural history of such mighty empires as India, Persia, Arabia, and Tartary cannot fail of delighting those who love to view the great picture of the universe, or to learn by what degrees the most obscure states have risen to glory, and the most flourishing kingdoms have sunk to decay; the philosopher will consider these works as highly valuable, by which he may trace the human mind in all its various appearances, from the rudest to the most cultivated state: and the man of taste will undoubtedly be pleased to unlock the stores of native genius, and to gather the flowers of unrestrained and luxuriant fancy."

I have already referred to the version of Hafiz which Jones first printed in the *Grammar*, and republished the following year in a volume of *Poems, consisting chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages*. This poem became extremely popular almost at once, and remained so for sixty years; it was described by H. F. Cary, who included a chapter on Jones in his *Lives of English Poets* (1846), as "one of those pieces that, by a nameless charm, fasten themselves on the memory"; it was reprinted as recently as 1926 in the *Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse*. Professor R. M. Hewitt has pointed out that the rather unusual rhyme scheme which Jones invented for the poem was afterwards used by Byron and Swinburne, both of whom knew of Jones. As you will observe, this poem is an adaptation rather than a strict version, for the Englishman expanded considerably his Persian original and gave it the unmistakable flavour of the English verse of his period.

"Sweet maid, if thou wouldst charm my sight,
And bid these arms thy neck infold;
That rosy cheek, that lily hand,
Would give thy poet more delight
Than all Bocara's vaunted gold,
Than all the gems of Samarcand.

Boy, let yon liquid ruby flow,
And bid thy pensive heart be glad,
Whate'er the frowning zealots say:
Tell them, their Eden cannot show
A stream so clear as Rocnabad,
A bower so sweet as Mosellay.

O! when these fair perfidious maids,
Whose eyes our secret haunts infest,
Their dear destructive charms display;
Each glance my tender breast invades,
And robs my wounded soul of rest,
As Tartars seize their destin'd prey.

In vain with love our bosoms glow :
Can all our tears, can all our sighs,
New lustre to those charms impart?
Can cheeks, where living roses blow,
Where nature spreads her richest dyes,
Require the borrow'd gloss of art?

Speak not of fate : ah ! change the theme,
And talk of odours, talk of wine,
Talk of the flowers that round us bloom :
'Tis all a cloud, 'tis all a dream;
To love and joy thy thoughts confine,
Nor hope to pierce the sacred gloom.

Beauty has such resistless power,
That even the chaste Egyptian dame
Sigh'd for the blooming Hebrew boy :
For her how fatal was the hour,
When to the banks of Nilus came
A youth so lovely and so coy !

But ah ! sweet maid, my counsel hear
(Youth should attend when those advise
Whom long experience renders sage) :
While musick charms the ravish'd ear;
While sparkling cups delight our eyes,
Be gay; and scorn the frowns of age.

What cruel answer have I heard !
And yet, by heaven, I love thee still :
Can aught be cruel from thy lip?
Yet say, how fell that bitter word
From lips which streams of sweetness fill,
Which nought but drops of honey sip?

Go boldly forth, my simple lay,
Whose accents flow with artless ease,
Like orient pearls at random strung :
Thy notes are sweet, the damsels say;
But O ! far sweeter, if they please
The nymph for whom these notes are sung."

This version is a typical example of Jones's methods, which had their influence on the more celebrated productions of Fitzgerald, and were followed to great advantage, though with more moderation, by Gertrude Bell. If these methods require further justification than the argument of success, let me quote what another translator of Hafiz, Richard Le Gallienne, has written on the subject : " Surely the only service of a translation is to make the foreign poet a poet of one's own country—not to present him as a half-Anglicized foreigner speaking neither his own language nor our own. . . . No translation, however learned, is of any value that does not give at least some of the joy to the reader that was given by its original. Hafiz has for centuries been one of the great literary joys of the Orient. Is it good translation to

turn what is such pleasure for the East into positive pain for the West?" Those of you who have glanced into the travesties of versions produced by such as Wilberforce Clarke, Hermann Bicknell, and John Payne will not, I think, be disposed to disagree with Le Gallienne's thesis.

Jones prepared an essay on "The History of the Persian Language," which he originally intended to print as an appendix to the *Grammar*, but did not publish until some time later. Though the sketch is brief enough—it occupies thirty-seven pages in the *Collected Works* (octavo edition)—it contains much that is interesting and illustrates how widely Jones had then already read in Persian literature. As it was composed before its author had begun to study Sanskrit, the parts which deal with early Iranian dialects are naturally quite inadequate; more historical value attaches to his versions of Firdausi, Sa'di, Hafiz, and Jami.

Even before the *Grammar* appeared Jones had taken a dramatic decision which meant for the time being his abandonment of oriental studies. On September 19, 1770, he was admitted to the Temple, and threw himself with characteristic energy and enthusiasm into the task of preparing himself for the career of pleader and juriconsult. He was a poor man and had to earn his living; Lord Althorp was now getting too old to need his attentions; and it was with keen regret that he turned his back on the pursuit of Eastern learning which had afforded him so much delight. "It is a painful consideration," he wrote, "that the profession of literature, by far the most laborious of any, leads to no real benefit or true glory whatsoever. Poetry, Science, Letters, when they are not made the sole business of life, may become its ornaments in prosperity and its most pleasing consolation in a change of fortune; but if a man addicts himself entirely to learning, and hopes by that, either to raise a family, or to acquire, what so many wish for, and so few ever attain, an honourable retirement in his declining age, he will find, when it is too late, that he has mistaken his path; and that, unless he can assert his own independence in active life, it will avail him little, to be favoured by the learned, esteemed by the eminent, or recommended even by Kings." To the third edition of the *Grammar* he added a footnote: "My professional studies having wholly engaged my attention, and induced me not only to abandon oriental literature, but even to efface, as far as possible, the very traces of it from my memory, I committed the conduct and revisal of this edition . . . to Mr. Richardson, in whose skill I have a perfect confidence."

There the career of "Persian Jones" as an orientalist might well have ended; but the lure of Eastern studies is not so easily evaded, and William Jones, when he wrote these fatal words, was in reality on the threshold of that great adventure which eventually carried him to the East and to those wide researches into which I do not propose to follow him this afternoon. And, indeed, I have already taken up so much of your time in dealing with the early years of this career that it will be necessary for me to exercise an economy of words in telling the remainder of my story. And in point of fact Jones's Persian days were now nearly ended, so far as productive work was concerned; though he was very far from carrying out his declared intention of "erasing the very traces of oriental literature from his memory." The *Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry*, long meditated, and published early in 1774, contain many things interesting to this Society, among which I may perhaps single out for special mention his analysis of Arabic and Persian metres. The book is quite unique of its kind and really deserves to be republished in English. But I have already promised to read you Jones's Latin version of Firdausi, and the following extract must suffice, a solitary example of the astonishing virtuosity which marks every page of the book from which it is taken:

"Samus, ut aurato cinctum diademate Regem
Vidit ovans, excelsa ferebat ad atia gressum;
Quem rex ad meritis facilis provexit honores,
Et secum in solio jussit considerare eburnco,
Cælato rutilanti auro, insertisque pyropis.
Magnanimum affatus tum blanda heroea loquela,
Multa super sociis, super armis multa rogabat,
Jam, quantos aleret tellus Hyrcana gigantes,

Jam, qua parta manu nova sit victoria Persis :
 Cui dux hæc memori parens est voce locutus.
 Venimus ad castra hostilis, rex maxime, gentis :
 Gens est dura, ferox; non aspera sævior errat
 Per dumeta lco, non sylva tigris in atra;
 Non equus in latis Arabum it velocior agris.
 Cum subito trepidam pervenit rumor in urbem
 Adventare aciem, queruli per tecta, per arces,
 Auditi gemitus, & non latabile murmur.
 Illicet ærata fulgentes casside turmas
 Eduxere viri; pars vastos fusa per agros,
 Pars monte in rigido, aut depressa valle sedebat :
 Horruit ære acies, tantaque a pulvere nubes
 Exortæ, ut pulchrum tegebat jubar atherius sol."

I must now pass on to the year 1783, when Jones, or rather Sir William Jones, proceeds to India to take his place on the bench of judges of High Court at Calcutta. The following year he founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal and became its first President. In this capacity he gave a series of eleven anniversary discourses which range over a wide field of oriental studies; Persian literature and history are touched on in several, and one, the sixth, delivered February 19, 1789, is entirely devoted to this subject. In this paper Jones gives a brilliant survey of what was known of the history of Iran in his time, and shows a considerable acquaintance with the old Zend and Pahlawi, which he was then able to compare critically with Sanskrit. Here are his pioneering observations on this subject, which has so greatly benefited at the hands of Professor H. W. Bailey: "We come now to the language of the Zend; and here I must impart a discovery, which I lately made, and from which we may draw the most interesting consequences. M. Anquetil, who had the merit of undertaking a voyage to India, in his earliest youth, with no other view than to recover the writings of Zeratust, and who would have acquired a brilliant reputation in France, if he had not sullied it by his immoderate vanity and virulence of temper, which alienated the good will even of his own countrymen, has exhibited in his work, entitled *Zendavesta*, two vocabularies in Zend and Pahlavi, which he had found in an approved collection of *Rauwayut*, or *Traditional Pieces*, in modern Persian: of his Pahlavi no more needs be said, than that it strongly confirms my opinion concerning the Chaldaick origin of that language; but when I perused the Zend glossary, I was inexpressibly surprized to find, that six or seven words in ten were pure Sanscrit, and even some of their inflexions formed by the rules of the *Vyacaran*; as *yushmacam*, the genitive plural of *yushmad*. Now M. Anquetil most certainly, and the Persian compiler most probably, had no knowledge of Sanscrit; and could not, therefore, have invented a list of Sanscrit words: it is, therefore, an authentick list of Zend words, which had been preserved in books or by tradition; and it follows, that the language of the Zend was at least a dialect of the Sanscrit, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the Pracrit, or other popular idioms, which we know to have been spoken in India two thousand years ago."

Another paper composed by Jones for the Asiatic Society of Bengal which is both epoch-making on its own account and of special interest to this gathering is his essay "On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus." The comparison between the Vedanta system and the teachings of the Sufis had already been made in the seventeenth century by Prince Dara Shikoh, but Jones was the first European scholar able to make any pronouncement on this subject out of authoritative knowledge. It was in this paper that he produced the first European translation of any part of the *Mathnawi* of Jalal al-Din Rumi, a rhymed version of the opening lines from which I cannot resist the temptation of quoting an extract:

"Hear, how von reed in sadly-pleasing tales
 Departed bliss and present wo bewails!
 'With me, from native banks untimely torn,
 Love-warbling youths and soft-ey'd virgins mourn.

O! Let the heart, by fatal absence rent,
 Feel what I sing, and bleed when I lament :
 Who roams in exile from his parent bow'r,
 Pants to return, and chides each ling'ring hour.
 My notes, in circles of the grave and gay,
 Have hail'd the rising, cheer'd the closing day :
 Each in my fond affections claim'd a part,
 But none discern'd the secret of my heart.
 What though my strains and sorrows flow combin'd!
 Yet cars are slow, and carnal eyes are blind.
 Free through each mortal form the spirits roll,
 But sight avails not. Can we see the soul?"

Jones also translated at Calcutta some passages from the *Khamasa* of Nizami, being again the first European to offer any version of this great poet, of whom he remarks that he "holds a distinguished rank among the Persian poetry of the first class. Inferiour to Firdausi alone in loftiness of thought and heroick majesty, to Maulavi Rum, perhaps, in variety and liveliness, and to Sadi in elegant simplicity, he surpasses all others in richness of imagery and beauty of diction."

Sir William Jones's last contribution to Persian studies was his edition of the *Laila u Majnun* of Hatifi, published at Calcutta in 1788. "Among eleven or twelve Persian poems on the story of Laili and Majnun," he writes, "that of Hatifi seems universally esteemed the simplest and most pathetick." After giving a version of a few lines in verse and in the metre of the original, he remarks: "If the whole poem should ever be translated into English (by me it certainly never will), I would recommend a version in modulated, but unaffected, prose in preference to rhymed couplets; and, though not a single image or thought should be added by the translator, yet it would be allowable to omit several conceits, which would appear unbecoming in an European dress; for the poem, with all its beauties, has conceits in it, like the black spots on some very beautiful flowers; but they are neither so numerous nor so unpleasing, as those in the poem of Venus and Adonis, and we cannot with justice show less indulgence to a poet of Iran, than we all show to our immortal countryman, Shakespeare." Jones then explains that his object in publishing the poem was to create a fund for "miserable persons under execution for debt in the prison of Calcutta." Finally he appeals for a concerted programme to be drawn up for the printing of the Asiatic classics: "The incorrectness of modern Arabian and Persian books is truly deplorable: nothing can preserve them in any degree of accuracy but the art of printing; and, if Asiatick literature should ever be general, it must diffuse itself, as Greek learning was diffused in Italy after the taking of Constantinople, by mere impressions of the best manuscripts without versions or comments, which future scholars would add at their leisure to future editions; but no printer could engage in so expensive a business without the patronage and the purse of monarchs or states or societies of wealthy individuals, or at least without a large publick subscription: there are printers in Bengal, who, if they were duly encouraged, would give us editions of Hafiz and Sadi, or, perhaps, of Nizami and Firdausi; and there are indigent natives of eminent learning, who would gladly correct the press for a small monthly salary. I shall ever be ready to promote such undertakings as a subscriber, but shall never more appear as an editor or a translator of any Persian book whatever."

This is Jones's final swan-song to Persian scholarship. His appeal did not remain long unanswered. Upjohn's Calcutta Press brought out the *editio princeps* of Hafiz in 1791; J. H. Harington printed between 1791 and 1795 the *Kulliyat* of Sa'di at the Honourable Company's Press; thereafter the work of editing and translating the Persian classics proceeded with zeal and energy, presently to be greatly assisted by the inauguration of the *Bibliotheca Indica* at Calcutta and the *Oriental Translation Fund* at London. It would have given the keenest pleasure to the author and inceptor of all these plans had he lived to see them mature; but this was not fated to be.

Jones had never enjoyed good health since his first arrival in India; a weak digestion and poor sight combined to undermine his strength, though his zeal and industry were such as to rise superior to any handicap; but in 1794, while only in his forty-

eight year, he contracted inflammation of the liver, and died after a short illness. So passed from the world the father of oriental studies, a man cast in the heroic mould. His premature death was widely lamented by all who knew of his profound learning and noble humanity. His body lies buried at Calcutta; in St. Paul's Cathedral a monument to his memory was erected by the directors of the East India Company "in testimony of their grateful Sense of his public Services, their Admiration of his Genius and Learning, and their Respect for his Character and Virtues"; his widow set up a memorial in the antechamber of University College, Oxford, "ut quibus in ædibus ipse olim socius inclaruisset, in iisdem memoria ejus potissimum conservaretur." Two long elegies were written in his memory, which also formed the subject of Latin discourses published at Oxford and Leiden. From these and the many other sincere and eloquent tributes to his greatness I do not propose now to quote, but confine myself to recalling the verses which he wrote many years before his death, and which seem peculiarly fitted to become his most appropriate epitaph :

"Before thy mystic altar, heavenly Truth,
I kneel in manhood, as I knelt in youth.
Thus let me kneel, till this dull form decay,
And life's last shade be brighten'd by thy ray.
Then shall my soul, now lost in clouds below,
Soar without bounds, without consuming glow."

THE PAST AND THE FUTURE*

By "PIRUZ"

(Translated from the original Persian by H. D. Graves Law, C.I.E.)

WHEN I first saw him he was standing in a corner of a garage in Tehran looking up at the sky. It was obvious from his suitcase and his old travelling suit that he was one of my fellow-travellers; but there was no one there to say good-bye to him or enjoy his company for those last minutes. Our friends had all brought us some little parting gift, such as a bag of fruit; and everywhere there were people taking snapshots of us. "Now then, old man," someone was saying, "don't go all European right away and forget us." And others were laughing and pulling my leg, and begging me, if I met a pretty girl in Europe, to send them her name and address. They were all shaking me by the hand, and kissing me, and pressing sweets into my mouth. Meanwhile my father had been shutting up my suitcase and seeing to my seat in the car. When he had finished he drew me to one side and, pointing to my fellow-traveller in the corner, said: "That young man will be going to Europe with you. He looks a nice boy. Get to know him and look after each other on the journey."

He was standing all alone there in the corner, as still as a statue. I went up to him and introduced myself. He looked at me for a moment or two, evidently taken aback—as if he had suddenly woken up from a dream—with an expression that was both sweet and unhappy; shook hands with me, and said: "My name is Bahram." Our friendship began from that moment.

* * * * *

We took rooms near each other in London, and spent most of our leisure hours together. Though Bahram was actually only three years older than me, he was, by

* This story won the second prize in a competition promoted by the London-published Persian magazine *Ruzgar-i Nau*.

comparison, a regular storehouse of experience and brimful of information. He never used to talk about his childhood or his family, but now and again in the course of conversation between us he would let a word fall about his life. Persia and the Near East he knew from one end to the other. He had been by turn labourer, clerk, motor-driver, newspaper correspondent, shopkeeper. He was neither afraid nor ashamed of any kind of work; and I suppose it was by these sorts of jobs that he had saved up enough money to be able to go on with his studies. I never knew whereabouts in Persia he had been born, nor what his family or connections were. Often after supper we would sit together and talk till the early hours. He was taking a course in engineering, and I was studying economics. As for his appearance, he was of medium build, his features were regular, his figure slight. He smiled but seldom; and his expression was that of a man looking at a boundless horizon. One emotion, one passion only obsessed him: the love of his country—Persia and the proud history of Persia; Persia and her ancient civilization and past glory. Whenever our talk turned to Persia his voice would shake and his eyes light up like two tiny flames of fire.

"Some years ago," he told me, "I spent nearly two years in India. The editor of the *Habl ul Matin*, of Calcutta—who is now dead—had been a friend of my father's; and now and again he used to come and chat with me. He was blind, and, being one of the 'Constitutionalists' of the Revolutionary period, was unable to return to Persia. Often at the recollection of his country the tears would pour from those sightless eyes of his down his furrowed cheeks; he would take my hand and make me swear that I would devote my life to the service of Persia. It is from those days that the love of my country began to fill my heart and my whole being. From that time onwards I couldn't stay far away from my native land; and, in fact, on the first opportunity, without getting my father's permission, I returned to Persia. I remember that when I landed from the boat at Khorramshahr I fell on my knees and kissed the ground."

On another occasion he told me how one year he had spent No-Ruz at Persepolis. "Funny to think that Persians go on pilgrimage to Mecca and Kerbela," he said, "while foreigners who love our country come from all the corners of the earth to pay homage to this holy place. When I looked on the relics of the art and grandeur of ancient Iran I wept, and my heart swelled with pride at sight of those massive columns. The great Darius must have trod on this very staircase, and Alexander must have defiled that stone platform when he stood on it to set fire to the palace of Estakhr; and I remember that after a bit I was overcome by amazement at it all. I was profoundly disturbed, and, in order to recover myself, sat down for a while on a pillar that lay on the ground. . . . Days, years, centuries, the whole course of history seemed to unroll before my very eyes: once again the royal palace of the Achæmenids, with all its old pomp and magnificence, rose up in front of me—four-square to the heavens. A shaft of light from the morning sun lit up Darius's marble resting-place and shed a golden lustre on that splendid structure. The Palace was surrounded on all sides by channels of running water, and everywhere were age-old cypress trees standing shoulder to shoulder like rows of soldiers, which now and then as they swayed in the light morning breeze seemed to bow their heads in homage to the Palace. Young men, tall, fine fellows, dressed in white, were coming and going in the courtyard; strains of pleasant music filled the air. Darius himself was slowly walking across the Hall of the Palace. He had long hair and was dressed in a plain red garment. Suddenly a messenger, covered in dust, dismounted from his horse at the foot of the broad flight of stairs, prostrated himself and handed to the King of Kings a leather tube which he took out of his waistband. . . . All that magnificence, all that greatness and splendour disappeared in an instant when it came face to face with a young Macedonian who called himself Alexander. And all that golden beauty of the sunlit Palace faded before my eyes; the dirt and decay of thousands of years wrapped the gardens and statues of the 'Throne of Jamshid'; those lofty pillars were rolled over in the dust; and of those silver streams of water nothing remained but a few drops—like a few tears of regret. . . ."

Bahram had some facility for music and poetry. Often while we were talking together he would take out the zither he had brought with him from Tehran and

softly pluck the strings. Sometimes he would talk about music and literature, sometimes about history and politics. "Three thousand years ago," he would say, "when Europe was in a state of barbarism and its inhabitants lived in caves like wild beasts, we Persians had a language and a culture of our own; we lived in buildings in large cities; we made implements and arms from metal; we were, in every respect, leaders of world civilization. How has it come about that now, after thirty centuries have passed, the Government of Persia is compelled to send me abroad to learn the science of engineering? Is the Persian less capable and less talented than the European? Or have we only just woken up and suddenly discovered the need for building bridges and making roads? It's our own fault. From the beginnings of history to the present day we have submitted to the pretensions of every tyrant who has grabbed the Crown of Persia and called himself King. First Alexander; then the Arabs; and after them a series of robbers and blackguards, Moghal and Turk—they all worked on us any and every villainy they liked. They laid waste our cities; they put thousands of men and women to the sword; they built countless mounds of men's eyes and heads; we grovelled and humbled ourselves before them; our flattery and sycophancy knew no bounds. How could the arts live in such a society? Today, thanks to the efforts of a handful of devoted lovers of freedom, Persia has a constitutional government, whereas the very foundation of Constitutionalism is that every single member of the community should take his share in the running of his country and guard the rights of the individual. What does our educational programme do to attain this object? The children of today, who will be the men and women of tomorrow, learn absolutely nothing about the essentials of civilization and government. Instead they practise handwriting and study composition in an atmosphere of roses and nightingales and general felicity! . . ."

Whenever Bahram used to talk about the administration of our country he would work himself into a state of excitement and fury; but in himself, in his intimate moments, he was calm and balanced. Once or twice a year we would buy some bunches of really expensive grapes and invite our other Persian friends to a party. Each one of us would recite a poem from the *Diwan* of Hafiz and slowly eat our grapes.

* * * * *

So three years passed, and every day our friendship and intimacy ripened. Although gradually our work prevented us from spending more of our scanty leisure together, yet whenever we did get a chance we never lost the opportunity of enjoying each other's company. Bahram's course of studies was shorter than mine, and less than a year remained for him. The thought of our parting was a constant distress to us. . . . One afternoon that winter, on a day of cold and heavy rain, I found Bahram in my room when I returned from my work. A bright fire was burning in the grate; tea was ready; and an English girl was there beside Bahram, turning over the pages of one of my books. Bahram smilingly introduced us: "This young lady's name is Mary, and she's going to be my wife. I want you to give Mary the same affection that you've always given me." "Oh, dear," I replied, "why didn't you let me know before? At least I should have arranged for some sweets and sherbet." She was a tall, pretty girl. Whenever she glanced at Bahram there was a world of shy love in her blue eyes, and her laughing expression gave evidence of her candour and sincerity. I said to her: "Bahram is a very dear friend—indeed, he's like a brother to me. I have always hoped that some day God would give me a sister, and now my prayer has been answered. From now on I hope you will accept me as a brother."

Instead of sherbet and sweets we had tea and some bread and butter. We talked till late in the evening about the marriage customs and ceremonies of Persia. Mary had read some books about our country and, unlike most of her fellow-countrymen, knew quite a lot about it. She hoped that one day she would partake of the traditional hospitality of Persia and be able to visit its historic ruins and the shrines of our great poets.

* * * * *

Two months later Bahram and Mary were married. It was a day when the land was covered by a delicate white garment of snow, and the sun coming out of a mass of dark, heavy clouds shone down on our joy and our celebrations. The wedding was a very simple one; the only people present were Mary's family and a small gathering of Bahram's friends. It was a day of gladness and happiness. I loved these two dear young things, and in seeing their good fortune I forgot my own heart-ache. . . .

They had rented a small house near where I was living, and I used to spend many an afternoon with them, sharing in their happiness. The days and months passed quickly, and gradually it became clear that Mary was going to be a mother. One night Bahram woke me up from sleep and, in a voice trembling with emotion, told me the good news of the arrival of a little daughter. I do not know what the feelings of a mother or father are at the birth of a child. But I do know that the sight of an infant always fills me with amazement at the divine wonder of creation of the tiny creature which has come into this world from the unknown. . . .

At my request they gave her the name Parvin. Her eyes were blue and her hair black. Bahram and Mary each hoped that the little Parvin would be like them, and they used to go into raptures by the hour about the child's beauty and her lovely little body. Whenever I was tired of work I would spend an hour with the small child. She would seize my finger in her tiny hand and tell me her secret thoughts in her infant language. It was as though she gave her whole life and being in trust to my hand, and with my finger as her support could face the future without any fear.

About this time, little by little, the clouds of hatred and suspicion had darkened the sky of Europe, and suddenly one day the storm of war burst on the world. Warsaw was bombed, and in a few days the violence of the enemy's attacks brought Poland to its knees. After that an unnatural calm reigned. The winter of that year did not seem so very different from any other winter, and we took every opportunity we could of being together. But these happy days, too, passed, and some months later my two friends left for Persia.

Except for one letter which he wrote to me from the Cape, I had no news of Bahram. I wrote letter after letter, but got no reply; my friend's strange silence worried me. Spring came, and the Germans once again began their series of victories. Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Holland, France—one after the other were trampled beneath the steel chariots of the Germans. Fire and death poured down from the English skies on to the cities and men of this country. The armies of England and Russia occupied Persia. Still I had no word from Bahram.

* * * * *

Tehran is one of the most beautiful capitals of the world. After an absence of seven years the avenues may seem a little narrow, the buildings a trifle small to the eyes of a traveller who returns there; but the loveliness of Demavend and the natural beauty of Tehran are imperishable. The train that was bringing me every moment nearer Tehran seemed, to my impatient imagination, to be crawling like a tortoise which, puffing and blowing, covers ten paces in an hour! I tried to fix my thoughts on the newspaper which I had been looking at for hours without taking in a single line. . . . "Bloody battle for Kharkoff" . . . "The Crimea" . . . "Germans' heavy losses" . . . "Berlin bombed" . . . "London bombed" . . . Blood, death, misery, hatred! Gradually these harsh phrases faded from my mind, and instead my mother's loving eyes were looking at me from the pages of the paper—my mother who for years had been mourning the absence of her only child, and must now be standing at the railway station in Tehran waiting to clasp me to her heart.

In London, during the long winter nights when I lay awake and tired in my bed, my thoughts used to turn to my native land, and a train of images from my childhood's days hurried in front of me: moonlight nights on the roof of our home, the harsh notes of a violin from our neighbour's house, holidays in Shimran, the man who sold ices at The Four Ways, the Café George and its bald-headed proprietor, the Khaju bridge in Isfahan on a summer afternoon, Sa'di's resting-place in Shiraz. . . . Gradually my eyes would close in sweet sleep and a voice whisper in my ear: "Be patient; these days will pass, will pass. . . ."

From a distance the station could be seen, and a crowd of people who had gathered to meet the train. Amongst them, I was sure, there were two, a man and a woman, whose eyes and thoughts were fixed on the train. This was the moment for which they had been waiting for seven years, counting every month and every hour. Now I could distinguish my father and mother in a corner of the station platform. They were holding each other's hands and slowly coming forward towards the train. My legs gave way under me, my eyes filled with tears. I just couldn't help myself. . . .

I took the first opportunity I had to go and look up Bahram. After some hours' search I found his house. A powerful-looking woman wearing the clothes of a nurse, and with her sleeves rolled up, opened the door, and in answer to my question looked me up and down for some moments. In the end she said, "He can't see anybody today," and suddenly slammed the door in my face. I heard the sound of a woman's cry from inside the house. I wanted to knock the door again, but I realized from the flat refusal of the nurse to let me in that it would be no good. For two or three days the pressure of private affairs kept me busy and prevented me from looking up my friends, but that agonized woman's cry kept ringing in my ears and a thousand terrors took shape in my imagination.

On the third day, quite by chance, I saw Bahram in the Lalehzar; but before I made myself known to him I followed behind him for a few minutes, as I wanted to make sure that it really was Bahram. For in spite of this person's having such a strong resemblance to my friend, he seemed much older and haggard. His hair was grey, his body somewhat bent, and he was walking along slowly with the help of a stick. I put my hand on his shoulder. He gazed at me intently for a few moments, and I noticed how changed he was in appearance from the Bahram I had first met at the garage so long ago. He held out his hand to me, his lips trembled; slowly he spoke my name. For some minutes the joy, the emotion we felt were too deep for words: it was only by gazing at each other in silence that we could express our feelings.

At last, "How are Mary and Parvin?" I asked. "Parvin must be a big girl by now." Bahram seemed suddenly to become more bent and to look more haggard. He was silent for a few moments, then slowly shook his head. I took him by the arm and led him to a café. We sat down in a quiet corner, and I said to him: "Bahram, since we parted from one another in London I haven't had one word from you. Now that I have found you again, I want you to tell me what has happened. Believe me, my friendship for you hasn't changed in the slightest degree: my one desire is to be able to share in whatever grief or sorrow has come your way." He replied: "I have no doubts about your affection, and the whole of this time I have never once forgotten you. My story is a long one; it is a story of tears, of misery, suffering and despair, of the smashing up of all my hopes for the future; it is a story of truth and ideals being trampled on by baseness and selfishness. How can I possibly tell you all the details of a story like that? . . . Do you remember how we used to talk in London about freedom and individual rights; about Persia's proud past and her glorious future? Well, when I returned to Tehran my head was full of these ideas. I wanted to wake my countrymen up from their thousand years' sleep. I wanted to shout out in a voice of thunder: 'Men, come to your senses! This ancient land belongs to you and nobody else. Those people, whoever they are, who lord it over you are your chosen representatives. You have the right to call them to account. . . .' Shortly after I had arrived back in Tehran I received a notice from the authorities that I must not interfere in politics. 'Surely,' I replied, 'surely interference in politics is one of my duties to society? Have the leaders of the State been elected by men like myself, or have they sprung up like the grass of the field? What is the source of the governing power? In whose hands, if not ours, lies the power to elect the representatives of our National Assembly? In England,' I went on, 'it is said that government is by the people, for the people. Am I or am I not one of the people?' Next day two men from the police, armed with rifles, came to my house and arrested me. Mary was not at home, and I couldn't even say good-bye to her. I spent seven months in a small dark cell, and for the whole of that time they did not allow me to receive one single letter from outside. My anxiety and my longing to

see Mary and the baby almost drove me mad. My days passed in bitter reflections on the miserable lives of my people. By night I used to speak to my own dear ones in imagination; and somehow they gave me courage and comfort. Slowly the fountain of tears dried up, but the power of my mind became so dulled that in the end I found it difficult even to remember what my loved ones looked like. . . .”

A fierce spasm shook my friend's thin body, and he covered his face with his two feeble hands. He was silent for a few moments. Then he began to speak again: “In the summer of that year English and Russian forces occupied Persia, and after the fall of the Government I was set free. Mary was waiting for me outside the prison. I do not wish to describe to you all that I felt. Mary was there, but my little Parvin was not. While I was away a contagious disease had taken my beloved child from me, and now nothing remained of her but the memory of her sweet voice and an echo of the sound of her little feet. . . . I resolved to forget the past and to devote all my thoughts and hopes to the future. Our future and the future of our country are being reborn now: our hopes are being realized. The government of the country is in our hands: it is for us. And what have we done? What are we doing? Ask anyone you like, and he'll tell you he loves his country; he is ready to shed his blood for his country. The truth is that Persia just now doesn't need anyone to open his veins for her. But she does need someone to open his purse. On the one hand, you have people dying from hunger, dying because there isn't ordinary decent sanitation; on the other hand, you have crowds of people stuffing their pockets with money . . . and they still say they love Persia. Yet you can't make that crowd understand that their life and their existence are bound up with the survival of Persia. In Tehran thirty or forty newspapers are published every day. A handful of them, I admit, wish to do some service to their country. But what do the rest of them do? They merely criticize everything and everybody; they stir up quarrels, they hurl abuse, they make confusion worse confounded by their own selfishness. They say that Persia is down and out, that it has no blood, no veins, no bones. They used to say they wanted democracy, they wanted freedom. Now that they have got their freedom, what are they doing with it? Destructive and negative criticism, fault-finding and hair-splitting, without making a single helpful suggestion for finding a cure for the miseries of our country. What little national pride and personal honour we had they are taking away from us. Either they don't know or they have forgotten that the Press of a country is a mirror of that country's culture and education and civilization. They don't know that the future of Persia lies in their hands today and that the future of Persia's history is looking to them. . . .”

Bahram got up and drew me towards the door of the café. He said: “Come, let's go home. Mary will be glad to see you; and besides, I want to talk to you about Persia's future. I still have faith in the destiny of my people. All these defects we see today are inseparable from a social revolution or indeed any intellectual movement; out of all this confusion a new Persia will arise . . . and incidentally, too, I would like to introduce you this evening to another new future—which arrived in the world on the very day you came to our house!”

Bahram seemed now to stand more erect; he smiled, and his features once again took on the appearance of youth and happiness. Slowly he whispered to me: “We are calling him Piruz (Victor).”

THE PAN-ARAB MOVEMENT

By KENNETH WILLIAMS

THE concept of Pan-Arabism, which, since all "pan" movements are often held to involve a degree of chauvinism, irredentism, or imperialism, were better called the concept of Arab Nationalism, is no new thing. It is not, indeed, as old as the Arab race, the history of which has been marked rather by individual achievement and fissiparousness than by collective effort and solidarity; but unity was certainly realised in the time of the Prophet Muhammad; and in the earlier part of this century, while the Ottoman hold on the Arabian Peninsula still seemed secure, it was the memory and the inspiration of the great centuries of Arab civilization which, mingled with the example of European nationalism, impelled Arab nationalists to dream of freeing the Arab genius.

This dream of a return to former glories was cherished by men, both before and after the last war, who were, however, often rather visionary than practical. These politically inexperienced Arabs, who preached an ideal, had few concrete notions on how it might be translated into reality. But they never let slip the ideal. Nor were non-Arabs ignorant of its potency. Great, if incomplete, use was made of it in 1916-18; yet after the liberation of Arabs from the Ottoman yoke it seemed, paradoxically, to suffer a set-back. This was owing to the establishment of separate Arab States—Iraq, Syria, Trans-Jordan, and so on—in a region which for centuries previously had been fundamentally one polity. For a couple of decades after the last war, indeed, the main efforts of Arab patriots were devoted to their own countries (that is, the countries the frontiers of which were drawn up by Western statesmen), in which so much needed to be done that practical men had little time for making suggestions on how their own State life might be enriched by participation in an even wider conception of Arab national life. It was not until 1932, for instance, that Iraq attained her independence by entering the League of Nations as a sovereign unit. Only in the last few months have Syria and the Lebanon obtained their *de facto* independence. And Trans-Jordan and, in much greater degree, Palestine are still under a mandatory régime.

Yet, despite local preoccupations, the Arab dream of unity has persisted, for it is basically a goal to which all thoughtful Arabs tend, even if the routes which they prefer occasionally vary. The obstacles, some of them internal, others external, are considerable, but no Arab can play on this theme of the unification of the Arab race without attracting, anywhere in Arabia, a ready and appreciative audience.

The present war has given to the Arabs an opportunity for promoting their ends in a way which perhaps few of them anticipated. Some Arab Nationalists, in the decades before this war, frankly postulated a European war as a development which, if not essential to their ultimate freedom, at least must hasten it. At that time a certain amount of transient and often theoretical xenophobia manifested itself—it would have been surprising had it not—and some Arabs, at any rate, thought that, with both Britain and France heavily engaged elsewhere than in the Middle East, complete freedom might easily be taken.

But such Arabs, like many other observers, did not foresee the pattern of events. None could foretell how nearly the Axis would come to dominating the Middle East, nor could they imagine that a defeated France would rule for a year in Syria. It was not until the eviction of the Vichy régime from Syria in 1941, and the quashing of Rashid Ali's artificial rebellion in Iraq in the same year, that the potency of the old dream of Arab unity began visibly to inform Arab counsels. Nor could the ferment really work in the minds of men until, after the triumph of Al Alamein towards the end of 1942, the menace to the Nile Valley was irrevocably rolled back. The sequel to that victory removed finally the Axis threat to the Middle East, which thereafter could busy itself with such ideas of *bloc*-making, the fusion or merging of local sovereignties, as were already presenting themselves to thinkers elsewhere in the

world, thinkers who perceived the improbability of small States ever again having the degree of absolute freedom which they possessed prior to 1939.

For about the last year and a half, therefore, ideas which had, so to speak, been pigeon-holed in various Arab files, particularly Iraqi and Syrian files, were brought out, dusted, and modified in accordance with current facts and tendencies. To outside observers it was at once noticeable that the splendid but somewhat heady conceptions of earlier years were giving way to less exciting but more practicable notions; it was also evident that Arabs now appreciated that their unity could not be achieved by waving a wizard's wand, but that the consummation must be preceded by earnest and considered discussion between the various Arab States, each of which had by this time amassed what, without disrespect, might be called a number of vested interests.

The Arab leaders, the principal of whom were General Nuri Pasha al Said, of Iraq, and Shukri Quwatli, of Syria, set to work with commendable sagacity and patience. Eschewing parochialism, they did not confine themselves to Northern Arabia. On the contrary, last summer they persuaded (not that he needed much persuasion, for Egypt's cultural interest in all Arabic-speaking countries is very strong) Nahas Pasha, Prime Minister of Egypt, to sound each of the Arab lands in turn upon the feasibility of Arab federation. Up to the time of writing, delegates from Iraq, Trans-Jordan, Syria, the Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and the Yemen have been sent to Egypt to deliberate on the project, and, though little has been published on the results of these talks, it would soon have become known had insuperable obstacles been encountered. Palestine alone of these Arab lands has not yet sent any mission to Egypt.

This exception of Palestine is extremely important, for until its future is known it is difficult to predicate with any confidence or exactitude the future of Arab Federation. What the leaders of Northern Arabia want, first of all, is the creation of a polity consisting of Syria, the Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, and Palestine. Such, they say, is a natural unit, and Palestine is an essential and integral part of it. For the realization of such a plan they assume that the White Paper Policy of 1939 for Palestine, prohibiting after the end of March, 1944, further Jewish immigration into Palestine (except with Arab consent), will remain the policy of the Mandatory Power. They believe that any repudiation of that policy might have disastrous results, and naturally they show anxiety when they see the extremely strenuous endeavours being made by Zionists to nullify the White Paper.

Such a difficulty (it is not the only one) is not, however, daunting the Arabs. They realize that theirs is a grand conception, for the attainment of which grand efforts, and possibly sacrifices of individual interests, must be made. Instead of at once trying to get the superstructure of political federation, they are wisely concentrating, first, on economic and cultural aspects of Arab unity. They realize the truth of the Syndicalist doctrine that economic values precede political values, that without sound economic foundations political erections are apt under strain to collapse. Therefore they are thinking at the moment mainly in terms of such things as the removal of Customs barriers and passport regulations, of securing a more uniform educational system and type of learning. In these two fields alone there is much to be done, although the help of Egypt, a country which in many ways is more advanced than are the Arab States, is calculated to be of enormous benefit in this latter connection.

The coping-stones of the scheme for Arab unity include military alliances between the Arab States, with, at possibly a later stage, an Arab army organised under a joint general staff, and such dovetailing of political factors as would ensure that in all matters of foreign policy Arabs acted as one unit. These military and political aims may take time to realize. Suffice it here to emphasize the fact that they hold no menace for other States. The Arabs are not on the warpath. Like many other peoples, their concern is how best to develop the genius and the resources that are in them.

A word must be given to the appearance in Egypt in the foreground of this Arab picture. It is very possible that the Egyptians are not as a nation over-interested in political Arab Federation, for, though possessing many ties with the Arabic-speaking world, they feel themselves to have an individual entity and probably a particular

destiny. The rise of Egyptian Nationalism differs in several ways from that of Arab Nationalism. Egyptians, moreover, have already passed through the stage, yet to be traversed by other Arabic-speaking States, of seeing their population increased several-fold and developing the fertility of their soil. But whatever the differences, as cultural leaders of the Arab world the Egyptians intend to remain, and, while not forgoing their special position vis-à-vis the West, to increase their contacts with the Middle East. They have a greater number of good teachers, doctors, technical experts and so on than have any of the purely Arab States. In recent years their educational and medical men have gone to all parts of the Arabian Peninsula, from the Yemen in the south-west to Iraq in the north-east. Nor are Arabs unwilling that considerable prestige should be accruing to Egypt for taking this interest in their future. At the same time it seems improbable that Egyptians would care to sacrifice any special privileges for the sake of participating in any political scheme which the Arabs may or may not succeed in devising.

Nor, certainly, can Saudi Arabia be left out of account. That country, the renown of which is derived mainly from the personality and achievements of one man, Ibn Saud, feels as strongly as any the call of Arab brotherhood. But in mentioning it one is mentioning one of the obstacles which, from the more distant point of view, faces full Arab Federation. The Saudi dynasty in Arabia is a force with tremendous prestige, and it is often assumed that it would not allow any other dynasty to predominate in Arab counsels. Cynical observers, indeed, are apt to prophesy that political federation in Arabia must remain a myth while there are such Houses as the Hashimite, represented in Iraq and Trans-Jordan, and the Saudi. The observation has much relevancy, but it is not necessarily comprehensively devastating. In any case, it needs no one from outside Arabia to make it: it is scarcely a criticism of which Arab Nationalists are unaware.

On the contrary, Arabs seek to meet this criticism by suggesting that federation be formed first in Northern Arabia, with the option always being left to such lands as Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to join when they please. That solution, however, itself seems to introduce another complication. The British Government, through the voice of Mr. Eden in February, 1943, has declared that it will regard favourably any system for Arab unity which Arab initiative may unanimously devise. There is significance, apparently, in the emphasis that Arabs must be unanimous. King Abdul Aziz, as true an Arab patriot and believer in the basic unity of Arabs as ever lived, has been content to remain rather silent while all the discussions on Arab unity have been going on during recent months. Until his attitude is made abundantly clear it is probable that the British Government will be chary of committing itself.

At the moment inter-Arab meetings continue. There is yet an infinite variety of issues to discuss as new aspects are revealed; and immediate and spectacular developments are scarcely to be anticipated. That some sort of economic federation may be achieved is very possible, for it would seem to accord not only with Arab wishes, but also with the views of those non-Arabs in the Middle East who predicate the prosperity and development of that region in terms of the closer integration of, and the curtailment of economic sovereignty in, its component parts. But only after such a foundation has been truly laid will it be possible to gauge the prospects of an enduring political federation. The deserts and oases and bazaars of Arabia still hold secrets that are now unfathomable. If to their historic tempests there now succeeds stability, the Arabs may yet astonish the world.

THE CHINESE MISSION TO GREAT BRITAIN

By BERNARD FLOUD

IN 1938, a year after Japan's ruthless attack on China, I had the privilege of being the British member of an international student delegation to China. We went as guests of Chinese student and youth organizations, and our special aim was to see something of the work which these organizations and the schools and universities were performing in China's war of resistance and reconstruction. Ever since that visit I have always hoped that one day I might be able to repay to a party of Chinese visiting this country some of the kindness which was showered on me at that time. And it was therefore a particular pleasure to me to have the opportunity, on behalf of the Ministry of Information, of being attached to the Chinese Mission to Great Britain during their stay in this country.

Towards the end of 1942 a British Parliamentary Mission visited China at the invitation of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The four representative parliamentarians had unforgettable experiences during their travels; they gained a most valuable insight into China at war, and they returned to this country full of the desire to strengthen still further the bonds between our two countries. So great was the success of the visit that it was natural that at a convenient time a return visit should be paid, and it was in this capacity that the Chinese Mission to Great Britain set foot in our country in early December of last year.

From the outset the Chinese Mission emphasized that they were a people's mission, that they were not tied to the expression of official opinions, and that their twofold object was to bring a message of goodwill from the people of China to the people of Great Britain and at the same time to study the efforts being made in this country towards the victory of the common cause of the United Nations. The members of the Mission were peculiarly well fitted to fill this rôle. Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, the leader of the Mission, is a former Minister of Education and of Information, with a background of outstanding achievement in the realms of politics, international law and education and a future of tireless effort and, one can hardly doubt, of achievement in the development of constitutional government in China. Mr. Wang Yun-wu, managing director and editor-in-chief of the Commercial Press, the foremost publishing house in the Far East, is a man of indefatigable energy and wide learning in many languages. Mr. Hu Lin is editor-in-chief of *Ta Kung Pao*, China's leading daily, a paper which for its integrity and fearless policy has often been compared with our *Manchester Guardian*. Mr. Han Lih-wu, through the Sino-British Cultural Association and the Board of Trustees of the Boxer Relief Funds, has done as much perhaps as any other man to foster good relations between our countries. Dr. Wen Yuan-ning, educated in this country, a brilliant speaker and broadcaster, is one of China's leading *littérateurs* and for several years a most able representative of the Chinese Ministry of Information in Hong Kong. Finally, as Secretary of the Mission, a title which no one who met him could feel to be an adequate description of his place in the Mission, was Mr. Li Wei-kuo, head of the General Affairs Department of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and for many years personal secretary to the Generalissimo. And, in addition to their personal qualifications for their task, it must be remembered that four of the members of the Mission are members of the People's Political Council, China's provisional war-time Parliament, and one other is a member of the Legislative Yuan.

The Mission spent the best part of two months in this country, divided between several weeks in London and visits to the main provincial cities in England, Scotland and Wales, to Oxford and Cambridge, and to other places of interest. Their programme was desperately full, and at times one felt that they must only be obtaining a somewhat blurred impression of what they saw. But the fullness of the programme was in itself a tribute to them and to their country. Invitations, which if all had been accepted would have necessitated a stay of many months more, poured in from

every quarter, and it seemed, in attempting to sift them, that almost every city and town and village and thousands upon thousands of organizations and individuals had some special connection or link with China which one would have liked to have encouraged. Many invitations had necessarily to be refused, but everyone's thanks are due to the Mission for their energy and tirelessness, their consideration and courtesy, and one can only be thankful that at a time of prevailing illness all the members of the Mission preserved their health to the end.

It would be impossible in an article of this kind, quite apart from security considerations, to detail the many centres of war industry visited by the Mission. Certain features of this industry did, however, impress the members wherever they went. Firstly, the degree of mobilization of our man- and woman-power. For visitors from a country such as China, where shortage of man-power is no problem, the concept of a nation in which every citizen of every age is engaged directly or indirectly in work of national importance is not always easy to grasp. It did, however, impress itself most forcibly on the Mission, through the medium of grandmothers working in aircraft factories, the Women's Voluntary Service drivers who drove the Mission on their visits to provincial cities, the wife of an Admiral Superintendent working on repairs to ships in her husband's dockyard, and many other examples. Everywhere, too, the Mission were struck by the high proportion of women—in some cases as much as 70 per cent.—working in munition factories, and often engaged in highly skilled work, or work in foundries, for instance, which would normally seem far beyond their strength. And a point which never failed to strike the Mission was the capacity of these women to look well on the work, to dress well and to take pains about their appearance. Girls who might be working for ten hours a day riveting the fuselage of Lancaster bombers would finish their shift and leave the factory looking bright and healthy—perhaps a deceptive appearance, but one which cannot fail to be noticed and which clearly plays its part in the maintenance of morale. Some of all this may be due to the excellent free health facilities, sun-ray treatment, etc., which the Mission saw in many factories, and to the canteens where the workers obtain admirable meals in what are often ideal surroundings; but a great part of it must be due, as anyone who knows what working in a factory, shopping in off hours, and running a home as well must mean, to the sheer indomitable spirit of the ordinary men and women of the land.

The Mission were deeply interested in the war-time economy of the country, in particular by the rationing of food and clothing to ensure the fair distribution of available supplies, and the system of price control which, in conjunction with the savings movement and other devices, have combined to curb inflation and to prevent any undue increase in the cost of living. They were anxious, too, to obtain as much information as possible regarding plans for post-war reconstruction and for international collaboration. In this connection they naturally encountered many differing policies and points of view, but, so far as the war itself was concerned, the Mission were left in no doubt as to the feelings of the people as a whole.

They expected to find—and, of course, were not disappointed—a determination to carry the war in the West through until the unconditional surrender of Germany. They also found—and this, perhaps, was less expected and all the more gratifying—an equal determination to carry the war with Japan through to a completely victorious conclusion and a keen desire on the part of those members of the Armed Forces with whom they came into contact to get to grips with the Japanese. Coupled with this determination they found everywhere among all classes of peoples a very real sympathy for the people of China. No one would pretend that this sympathy and interest is as informed as it could or should be, but its existence, and its development through the work of various voluntary organizations, in particular the United Aid to China Fund, was certainly very encouraging to the Mission. As one conducting the Mission on their provincial visits, it was impossible not to be struck by the very genuine and cordial welcome extended to them wherever they went by lord mayors and schoolchildren, munition workers and members of the Services. Certainly there exists a basis on which lasting bonds of friendship between our two peoples could be built.

Looking back over their visit, the members of the Mission will doubtless have



THE RECEPTION TO THE CHINESE MISSION GIVEN BY THE
BRITISH COUNCIL.



THE CHINESE MISSION PROPAGATING MESSAGES TO CHINA AT THE R.B.C. IN LONDON.

B. Ash & Co. Ltd. Photograph



VISIT OF THE CHINESE MISSION TO THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES.

Enish O'car P's t'gaqa

PLATE IV.



THE CHINESE MISSION AT THE CHINA INSTITUTE IN LONDON.

varied impressions and will remember different incidents which stick in their minds. Against a general background of a country mobilized for total war, of cities as badly seared by bombing as Chungking and a people somewhat tired but as resolute as ever, different views will be remembered; some, including Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, will remember visits to educational institutions and perhaps a lovely day at Durham, with its cathedral and university housed in the castle; others, including Dr. Wen Yuan-ning, who must have created history by broadcasting on Burns night, will remember the peaceful Ayrshire countryside and visits to bookshops in Cambridge and London; Mr. Hu Lin will not forget an evening at the *Manchester Guardian*; Mr. Wang Yun-wu will treasure the hundreds of books which he collected; all who were privileged to do so will remember a visit on a wonderful clear sunny day to H.M.S. *Duke of York*, fresh from the sinking of the *Scharnhorst*. If sometimes they wish that their programme had been less crowded, that they could have spent more time in more personal contacts and visits, they will, we hope, remember the great pleasure they gave to all with whom they came in contact and the very great service which they performed in meeting and talking with many thousands of people, both to their own country and to the cause of the United Nations.

The Chinese Mission to Great Britain, like its counterpart, the British Parliamentary Mission to China, owed no small part of its success to the fact that it came, not for any specific military or economic purpose, but simply to promote goodwill and understanding. As such there can be no doubt of its outstanding value, and anyone who came in contact with the Mission cannot doubt that the exchange of such visits is a most potent weapon of alliance, and can only hope that the exchange thus started will develop and extend into all fields of the national life of Great Britain and China.

MALAYA: A VINDICATION

BY VICTOR PURCELL

(Late Director-General of Information, Malaya)

DURING the last three years I have had occasion to lecture on Malaya to a large number of audiences in Britain and the United States. These audiences were representative of many sections of the public of the two countries, and I was enabled to gain from their reactions a fair idea of the public attitude towards Britain's Colonial commitments and administration.

The general impression I have received is that the great body of my listeners were anxious to receive information of a country little known to them, and had assumed no critical attitude vis-à-vis British methods or policy in her Colonial Empire. When criticism was forthcoming it was inspired by a suspicion that the British had, in acquiring their possessions, been guilty of "aggression" and, in administering them, of "exploitation." In no case were the critics at all well informed on the facts, and their questions were prompted by inferences from the doctrinaire political beliefs they held.

It was no part of my intention to argue political or economic theory—and, indeed, it was not necessary that I should do so. My business was to present the facts. Whether or not the prevailing policy in America or Britain was right or wrong was a matter primarily of domestic politics. All that I asked was that my interrogators should not refer to an existing system as if its application were confined to British Colonies when in point of fact it existed in the U.S.A. or the United Kingdom—e.g.,

if a questioner objected to private enterprise as exemplified, say, by investment on the "ground floor" of the rubber industry in 1906, he must equally object to the profits of Ford's or Courtauld's. In every case this disposed of the criticism, for the critics I encountered were not questioning world policy as a whole, but merely colonial "exploitation."

For those who argue that the British Colonial Empire was gained by aggression will find Malaya's history of small assistance to them.

The first of the three Settlements in the Straits of Malacca was Penang. It was obtained by the East India Company in 1786 as a careening port for their ships and as a trading station from the Sultan of Kedah, in return for an annual rent to be paid in perpetuity. The rent was \$6,000 a year, increased to \$10,000 a year in 1800 when a strip of the mainland (Province Wellesley) was added by a further treaty. This rent was paid up to the moment of the Japanese invasion. Singapore was acquired by Stamford Raffles in 1819 on behalf of the Company in a similar way. The rent was also paid up to the moment that the Japanese entered. Malacca was obtained from the Dutch in exchange for Bencoolen in Sumatra. Penang was uninhabited except for a few fishermen in 1786; Singapore in 1819 had only 150 Malays. The two islands were practically covered with jungle and swamp at the time of their occupation. In both cases the treaties were made with the legitimate rulers.

The Straits Settlements prospered, but the Malay States of the mainland fell more and more into a state of anarchy. There was constant civil war between the States (whose boundaries were mostly unfixed) and wars between rival claimants to a throne. A considerable proportion of the people were slaves, being subject to slavery by purchase or capture or by debt slavery. The waters of the Straits were infested by Malay pirates, who lurked in the creeks of the mainland and were encouraged and protected by the Chiefs and Rulers.

Trade with the mainland was carried on by Chinese who resided in the Straits Settlements, not by Europeans. The former continually petitioned the British Government to intervene to restore order, but this for fifty years after the foundation of Singapore the British refused to do. Eventually the situation became so bad that the prosperity of the Straits Settlements was seriously threatened. In 1874 the British intervened and the Sultan of Perak accepted a British Resident and agreed by treaty to rule with British advice except in matters of the Muhammadan religion and Malay custom. This arrangement proved so successful that one by one the other States in the south of the peninsula asked for similar treaties. This was the unanimous desire of their Rulers and major Chiefs. (The Sultan of Perak, who made the original treaty with Britain, had been the legitimate claimant for the vacant throne, and he naturally accepted a treaty with the British, who supported his claim.) Negri Sembilan was not a State at all, but (as the name suggests) a collection of nine small States which formed themselves into a single one, at the British suggestion, under an elective Ruler. In 1909 the four northern States were transferred by the Treaty of Bangkok from Siamese to British suzerainty, and the British made separate treaties with the Rulers, treating them as independent.

When the British intervened in the Malay States in the seventies the total population was only about three hundred thousand and confined to the coasts and the banks of the rivers. There were no State finances proper, each petty chief levying taxes for his own requirements. Within a few years of the opening up of the country the States became enormously prosperous. The Federated Malay States, Johore and Kedah had, in particular, huge revenues.

These revenues were applied for the good of the country. In 1874 there were no roads, no railways, no schools, no hospitals, no courts of law. In 1941 there were 8,500 miles of first-class roads, a thousand miles of railway, many public works—bridges, harbour works, schools, colleges, hospitals. In 1874 the country had been very unhealthy, malaria, in particular, being a dreadful scourge from which practically no one escaped. The application of Sir Ronald Ross's great discovery that malaria was conveyed by the anopheles mosquito has been applied with spectacular success. Malaya became, perhaps, the healthiest country in the tropics. But this malarial control entailed draining, clearing and oiling that was enormously expen-

sive, and had it not been for the huge revenues derived from the opening up of the country the millions of dollars needed would never have been forthcoming.

By 1911 the population of Malaya was about 2,600,000—about the same as that of England and Wales in 1410. By 1941 it was 5,560,000—about the same as that of England and Wales in 1720. In thirty years the population of Malaya had increased as much as that of England and Wales in over three hundred years! Modern Malaya was entirely the creation of British enterprise and the industry of the immigrant peoples, mainly Chinese, who were encouraged to come to the country.

In the great prosperity all races shared. Over half the rubber plantations (estimated by value) were owned by Asiatics, and a third of the tin mines. Chinese and Indian labourers, over and above the cost of their subsistence, remitted huge sums to China and India.

European investors made big profits from the rubber and tin industries, providing that they "came in" early enough. But against this must be borne in mind that for many years during the recurrent "slumps" most tin and rubber companies paid no dividends at all, and that capital sunk in the sugar and coffee industries that had now disappeared had been entirely lost. British private enterprise, therefore, had probably made less in Malaya than it did in Britain or America in the last few decades. (There were also large estates owned by Americans, French, Belgians, etc.)

Unlike some other Colonial Powers, Britain applied the revenues of her Colonies and Protectorates to the exclusive use of the countries themselves. (The Straits Settlements maintained a Free Trade policy to the end.) Every requirement of a modern community was provided for in Malaya—education, agriculture, health, medical research, co-operative societies, infant welfare, leper asylums (no hospitals, leper and insane asylums had, of course, existed before British intervention), irrigation schemes, etc. The administration was conducted with the utmost fairness and a balance was kept between the rival interests of the communities. Representative institutions were created and self-government was being encouraged as far as circumstances due to the diversity of the racial make-up allowed. An American commentator who had resided in Malaya for thirty years recently remarked that "for ability and integrity of purpose the Malayan Administration ranked, in his opinion, second to none in the world."

Those who consider these facts impartially will scarcely be able to maintain that "aggression" or "exploitation" figured appreciably among the motives that led to the creation of modern Malaya.

HOW THE ARMY IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES RESISTED JAPANESE INVASION

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE army is chiefly composed of Indonesians, the remainder being Netherlanders. In peace-time the strength of the army was about 40,000 men, nearly all of them professional soldiers.

On mobilization of the army there were added to this number the militia, consisting of Netherlanders, with a strength of approximately 25,000 men. (In the year 1941 compulsory military service was also introduced for Indonesians. The first contingent had a strength of about 6,000 men; when war broke out they were, however, not yet sufficiently trained, so they could not be used in the actual operations.)

In addition there were some Indonesian semi-military organizations and the Home

Guard, established in 1941, with a total strength of about 20,000 men; lack of arms was the reason why a great part of these Home Guards could not be adequately trained.

The Royal Netherlands Indies Army was composed of the Army Ground Forces and the Army Air Force.

The Army Ground Force consisted of :

(a) Four reinforced regiments (each composed of a regiment of infantry and some artillery, pioneers and a reconnaissance detachment) and some battalions of infantry, all stationed in Java.

(b) A number of lightly armed battalions on the outer islands, which were partly divided into small detachments which were stationed at the numerous Government posts and at some points of strategical value; for instance, the oil centre at Tarakan was defended by a battalion.

(c) Some coast artillery, anti-aircraft artillery and supply services.

The strength of the Army Air Force was as follows :

(a) About 60 medium Glenn Martin bombers with necessary personnel and a reserve of barely 50 per cent. in planes; as a comparison of this type of bomber with the modern medium bomber, it should be noted that they had as defence armament only three machine-guns (·303 calibre), whereas the modern medium bomber has ten or more machine-guns (calibre ·5).

(b) About 40 fighter planes with necessary personnel and a material reserve of 100 per cent. in planes.

(c) Two squadron reconnaissance planes and a number of transport planes.

(d) A number of training planes.

In 1939 large orders for various kinds of guns were placed in Europe. Because of the outbreak of war and the fall of the Netherlands, these orders were not carried out.

In 1940 and 1941 large orders of war material (Mitchell bombers, dive-bombers, fighters, tanks, guns, etc.) were placed in the United States. Owing to various circumstances, however, this material could not be delivered in time.

The conclusion is, therefore, that the will to strengthen the defence of the Netherlands East Indies was there, but no national war industry was available, and the Allied industries were not able to deliver the ordered material in time.

When, therefore, the Netherlands Government declared war on Japan on December 8, 1941, the available forces of the Netherlands East Indies Army were weak in numbers as well as in armament.

On the same day that Japan attacked Malay and Hawaii the Netherlands East Indies Army commander gave orders to send about half of the Netherlands East Indies Army bombers to Malaya in order to support the British ally. Owing to unfavourable weather, these planes could not leave for their destination until the next day. In the middle of December a squadron of fighter planes was put at the disposal of the British in Malaya. Furthermore, a detachment of bombers was stationed near Pontianak in Netherlands North-West Borneo, under operational control of Singapore, in order to co-operate in repulsing the attacks on British Borneo and Sarawak.

Before the fall of Singapore and North Borneo the rest of these Netherlands East Indies Army planes were withdrawn in time to Sumatra and Java.

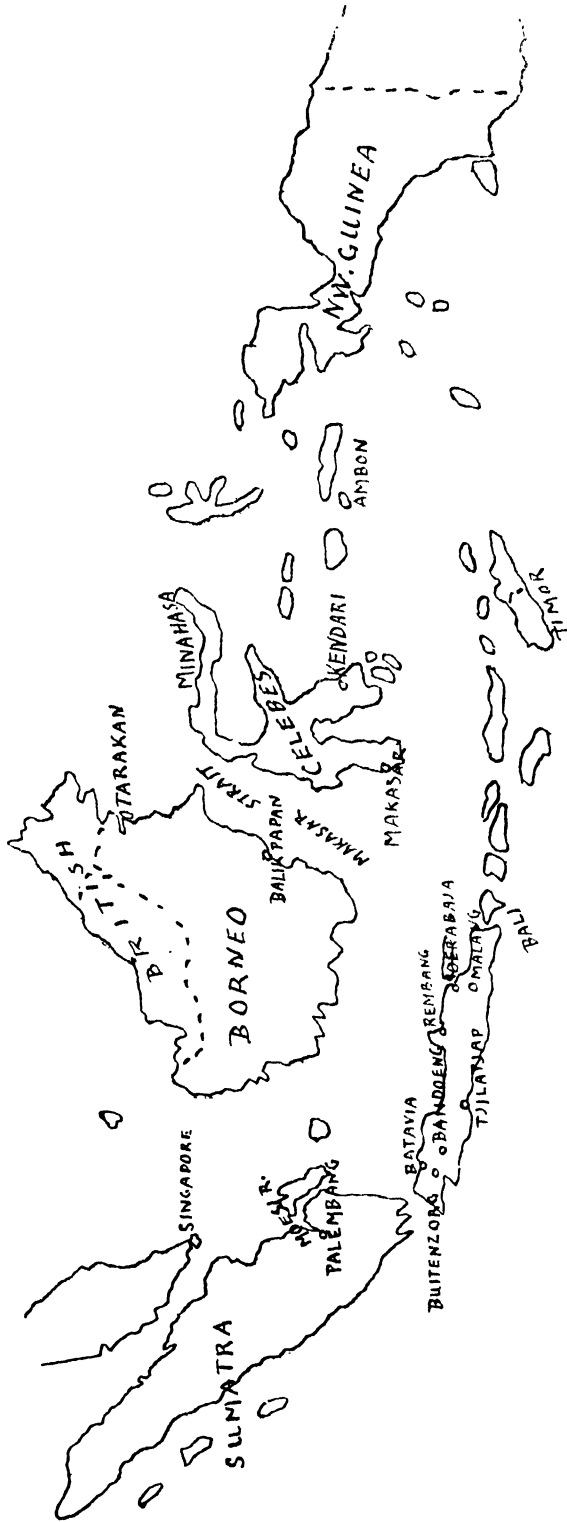
On January 10, 1942, strong forces of Japanese troops landed on the oil island of Tarakan (North Borneo).

The task of the Netherlands Indies troops defending Tarakan was to hold up the enemy as long as possible in order that the thorough destruction of the oil installation and oil wells could be executed. The small Netherlands East Indies forces succeeded completely in this task, to the great fury of the Japanese, who had hoped to occupy the oilfields intact. The enemy suffered serious losses during this action.

In order to avoid the destruction of the oil installations at Balikpapan, situated further south on Borneo's east coast, the Japanese commander at Tarakan sent an ultimatum to the Netherlands East Indies troops at Balikpapan. In this ultimatum he threatened to kill all Netherlands if they proceeded with the destruction of the oil installations.

Simultaneously with the attack on Tarakan strong Japanese forces landed at three points in the Minahasa (North-East Celebes), where parachutists were also dropped.

THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES



The small number of troops stationed there were obliged to retire into the interior of Celebes.

On January 24 strong Japanese forces landed near Balikpapan. As at Tarakan, the oil installations and wells were thoroughly destroyed in time. Soon the small number of troops here were encircled. The commander with part of his troops, however, succeeded in breaking through the encirclement and withdrawing to the jungle.

At the same time the Japanese landed near the Kendari airfield in Celebes. It was impossible to resist for long the vastly superior forces; the small garrison was forced to abandon the airfield.

On January 30 the small island of Ambon, where, besides the Netherlands East Indies garrison, Australian troops were stationed, was attacked by a strong Japanese force. Owing to the small area of the island, it was impossible to withdraw to the interior. The small force withstood the attack until it was surrounded on all sides.

During the first half of February, 1942, the Japanese had penetrated into the north-west and south-east part of Netherlands Borneo, where only small numbers of Netherlands Indies troops were present.

During this period troops also landed on the coast of South Celebes near Macassar. After the destruction of the port installations the Netherlands East Indies troops withdrew to the interior, owing to the overwhelmingly superior numbers of the enemy. The troops in South Celebes were reorganized there and the advancing enemy was harassed by small sections from this place for a considerable time.

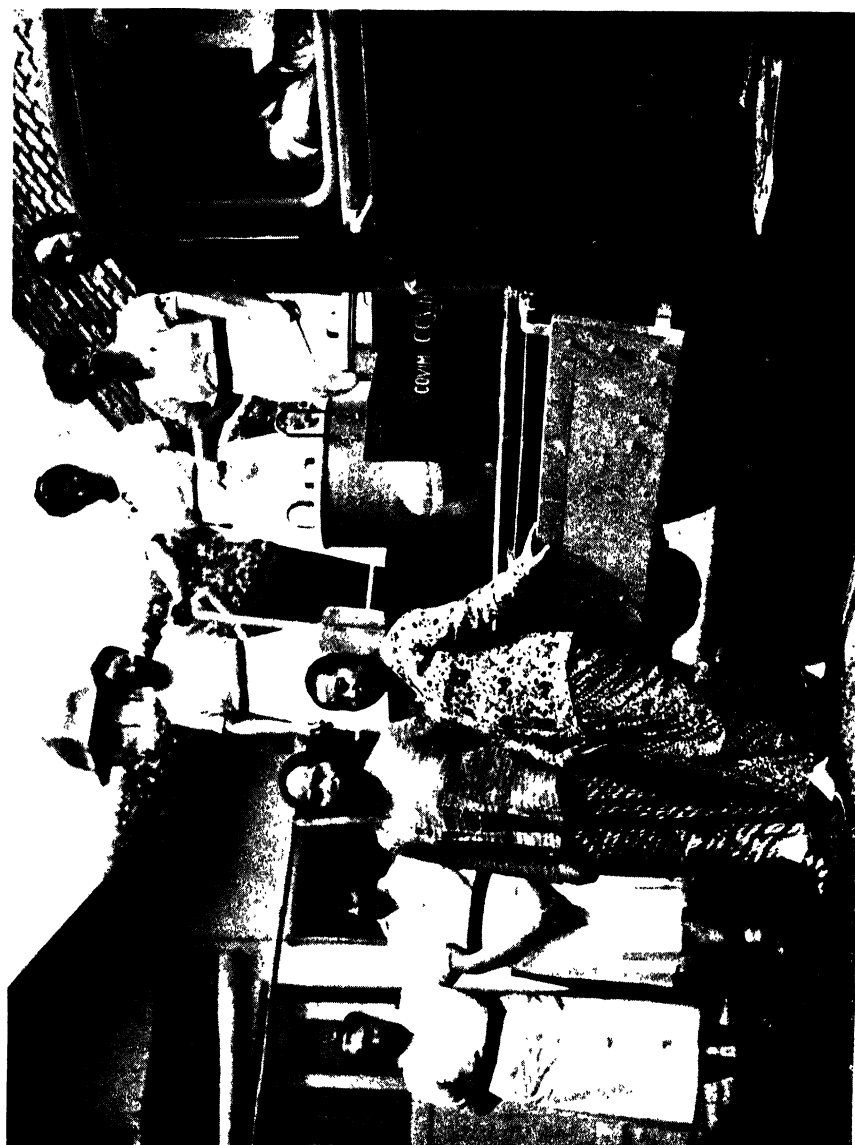
On February 14—i.e., one day before the fall of Singapore—Sumatra was attacked. On this day the oil centre of Palembang was attacked by 700 parachutists, while a strong transport fleet approached along the River Moei. The parachutists were practically all accounted for, but it was not possible to prevent the landing of the sea-borne force, so that the destruction of the oil installations was proceeded with, the Netherlands East Indies troops withdrawing in the direction of the south, part of them later being moved to Java.

In the second half of February, 1942, the enemy conquered Bali and some strategic points in Timor.

The encirclement of Java was now complete. Only small reinforcements of the Allies had reached Java. Further reinforcements, including aeroplanes, could not get through any more. And just then there was such a great need of aeroplanes. During the advance of the enemy through the Archipelago the Netherlands East Indies Army Air Force had been able to inflict heavy losses on the enemy transport ships. The best-known example of this was the air attacks on the Japanese troop transports in Macassar Strait. The crews did their utmost; every day they set out; there was no possibility of giving them rest even for a short time after a number of operations. A further disadvantage was the weak armament of the Glenn Martin bomber, which was even more accentuated by the lack of long-range fighters. The behaviour of the crews, who fought the unequal fight with the Japanese Zero fighters, deserves the highest admiration. Their conduct was rewarded by Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina by the granting of the Militaire Willemsorde (the Dutch V.C.) to the R.N.I.A.A.F. on March 6, 1942.

It was inevitable that serious losses should be suffered. When Java was about to be attacked the small Netherlands East Indies Army Air Force had shrunk to a number of planes which could almost be counted on the fingers of both hands. The available Allied air forces were small. It can therefore be imagined how great was the joy when news came that the U.S.S. *Langley*, an aircraft tender with a large number of American planes and crews on board, would steam to Tjilatjap on the south coast of Java, where the aeroplanes with crews would land. With the greatest speed a landing-ground was constructed near the harbour. It was a heavy blow indeed when it was learned that the ship was attacked some hours off Tjilatjap and was subsequently sunk. This shattered any hopes of reinforcements. It meant that Java would have to be defended henceforward with the small forces stationed there. All help from outside had become impossible.

About February 25 a radio message was picked up from a U.S. reconnaissance plane, stating that it was over the southern part of the Straits of Macassar, and that it



NETHERLANDS AND INDONESIAN MEMBERS OF A WOMEN'S CIVIL DEFENCE ORGANISATION
IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

PLATE II.

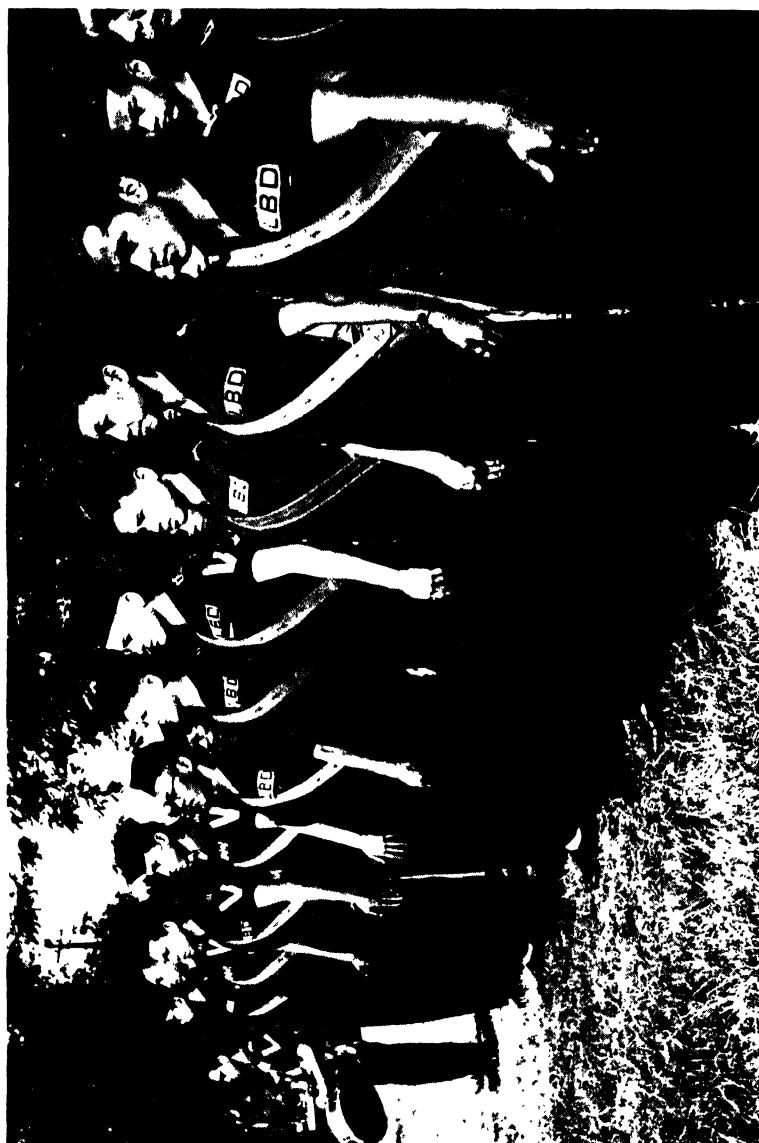


TROOPS OF THE ROYAL NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES ARMY, BACK FROM TIMOR,
MARCH THROUGH MELBOURNE.



INDONESIAN PILOT-PILOTS OF ROYAL NETHERLANDS INDIES ARMY AIR FORCE AND NAVY AIR SERVICE
HAVING THEIR WELL-KNOWN "RICE-TABLE."

PLATE IV.



A.R.F. PERSONNEL IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES.

On the larger of the archipelago islands the fight is continued by small detachments of ground troops. Thus radio Tokio announced in November, 1943, that at that time—that is, more than one year and a half after the fall of the Netherlands East Indies—2,000 men had been eliminated in Sumatra alone. In February this year the Japanese in their broadcast admitted that Dutch troops are still active in South Borneo. Only after the end of hostilities will the entire story of the fight of these brave soldiers become known.

SOME SUGGESTED RELATIONS BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN CULTURE*

BY TERENCE D'OLBERT WHITE

(A chapter from *After Leonardo: Quality and Quantity for a New Civilization.*)

I

THESE pages are intended merely as a résumé, a synopsis. They attempt to suggest certain relations between Eastern and Western culture which have not yet been achieved, or at least not crystallized. High artistic relations are discussed first. From this we proceed to the discussion of less serious arts and fancies, many of which touch on social values and customs. The next section treats of more strictly intellectual issues, while a few general problems are aired as a finale.

II

The possible interactions between the various Western and Oriental artistic traditions provide a most tempting field for imagination and research. Let us begin by indicating a few of these. For convenience' sake we will put them in tabulated form:

(1) The Turkish nation has been freed, for good or ill, from many Muslim provisions and vetoes which had previously bound it. Is it not, therefore, natural that the Turks should now be willing and eager to paint and sculpt the human figure? In considering, however, the probable way in which they will achieve this, one must remember the traditional abstract, decorative styles of art which all Muslim countries have developed: a great deal of these qualities would no doubt remain in whatever school grew up. The combination of them, moreover, with the representation of the human figure would issue in a style not unlike that of Picasso (in each of his many recent styles), of Henry Moore, and indeed of all modern artists who have been influenced by "abstraction."

If, further still, the Turks wish to westernize their culture, perhaps they will borrow the modern Western sense of functionalism in art (as seen at its most prominent, if its grossest, in architecture): a principle which would mitigate the excessive symmetries of their arabesques (excessive, that is, for the purposes of painting and sculpture), while at the same time stressing one aspect of the Machine, that magnet for would-be Western eyes. Of course, the severely dramatic, the dramatically severe side of what in Europe has crystallized round the term "functionalism" would have to be emphasized: the cult of significant omission, of spare but truly rhythmical lines, of a scheme of unity determined for each work of art *a posteriori* rather than *a priori* as with the agents of external, "classical" symmetry. In this

* Lecture delivered at the China Institute. Dr. George Yeh presided.

connection we may note another possible and salutary influence on this proposed Turkish renaissance: that of Chinese art, with its highly practised sense of significant omission, its blithe harmony achieved through (and not in spite of) irregularity, and its entirely original and successful attitude to the problem of space.

Incidentally, this last suggestion illustrates the noteworthy fact that, at the present time, it is not only relations and borrowings between East and West which are advisable, but also relations and borrowings between the different Eastern traditions themselves.

(2) A somewhat similar programme would be possible for Persian art. But there would be differences, based principally on the fact that Persia already possesses a long and splendid tradition of painting and sculpture, including the representation of the human figure (though not the nude). The assimilation, on the one hand, of Western functionalist and asymmetrical techniques or of Western abstractionism and, on the other, of the Chinese effects of space and significant omission will not, therefore, be as important in Persia as in Turkey. But there is one congenial sphere in which the West can make a suggestive gift to Persian painting, and that is in the colour-effects produced by modern mechanical civilization. If the West is to be copied, let it be thus rather than in the matter of bowler hats. One of the most striking features of Persian painting has always been its rich and sensuous organization of colour. What an inspiration could be added thereto by our coloured lights, the chaste silver of our wires, and many another colour-effect unseen before the mechanical age! Can we not, moreover, conceive a series of three or four Persian carpets as the *décor* (maybe enlarged by film) to an abstract ballet?

We have mentioned the Chinese original feeling for space, for significant omissions, and for a certain supremely harmonious regularity. These qualities, if rightly adapted, could add vast fields both of conception and of execution to the art of the West. Something of the kind has indeed happened in the fusion of Western and Japanese techniques in the work of Matisse; and yet this is an isolated case, even if we place beside it the possible influence of the Chinese qualities just mentioned on Picasso's sense of omissions, or his steel-like yet impressionistic portraits, or his use of light to convey the largeness of space upon an object. It is not only in painting that this influence should be sought; architecture ought to be an equally fertile sphere.

This would not be too impracticable an adjustment, for the Chinese space and selectiveness are already akin, in some sense, to the *functionalism* of modern architecture; however, they would sublimate the bare grossness of sheer functionalism into a new subtlety of simplicity and individuality of form. Moreover, the effect of one single small figure or shape amid an infinite space could fit in with the necessary breadth, and the equally necessary rhythm within breadth, of the very medium of architecture. Another gift of Chinese pictorial technique to Western architecture could be the power of combining intense and even irregular rhythm with calm, such as an architectural dignity generally requires. Yet another valuable influence would lie in the sphere of perspective, or rather the lack of orthodox or realistic perspective in Far Eastern art, and the fact that this has not in the least prevented the subtlest representations of varying planes. Now, the medium of architecture, especially that of a flat wall, is similar to a canvas without the feasibility of perspective; and the Chinese example could teach the European architect how to represent and gain the effect of a variety of planes while retaining the conditions of his medium. Two final points could be mentioned: the use of shapes—made as abstract as you wish—derived from the typical shapes, mountains or otherwise, in Chinese pictures, and the use, both as an element in the sweep of the design and as a decorative pattern on a smaller scale, of the formula of shape and texture represented by a group of figures at the end of a large emptiness of space.

Of all the creations of the Chinese spirit, probably it is the visual arts which have had, and will have, the deepest and widest influence. In them all that is valuable in the Chinese conception of life, as well as more purely artistic features, receive inspired expression and lucid form. Yet the possible influences of Chinese visual art, and, above all, the sheer spirit and rhythm of Chinese art, are by no means limited to the spheres of painting and sculpture. Even if we could detail all the far possibilities which build up the relations between Chinese and non-Chinese art, we should still

have to leave a few places for the connections between Chinese art and Western non-artistic elements. An example of this lies in the field of mathematics: would it not be possible for new conceptions in geometry to grow up under the influence of Chinese artists' particular attitude to space? In one sense all geometries are artificial and represent the systematic abstraction and canalization of physical rhythms or mental attitudes which were originally unconnected with geometry. A parallel power to evoke fresh systematic abstractions of form in space—*i.e.*, geometrics—is perhaps possessed by Picasso and his many innovations, manners and methods.

Even within the sphere of the arts themselves there are a few cases where Chinese visual art could influence Western non-visual art, such as music. In certain respects the characteristic rhythms and moods of Far Eastern painting have already found kindred expression in certain works by Debussy and Delius; while Sibelius has a parallel gift for enunciating vital and significant loneliness and sparse expanses. But there is room for a great deal more of such affinities: to the present author, as a musician, the Chinese organization alike of line and of space can suggest a quantity of new tonal and rhythmical devices—devices, too, of systematic musical form, including new relations between foreground and background, *melos* and accompaniment. There is room, too, for fresh sonorities based on the use of minute but vitally positioned touches, or on the symmetrical placing of asymmetrical groups and the asymmetrical placing of symmetries, or, again, on fresh types of flexible forms for whole compositions, which will be perceived clearly as unities. These are a few specimens of the possibilities before us. They and others will, of course, be stimulated by general musical developments, and not least by expansions and subtilizations of and within the whole range of loud and soft. Unfortunately, any adequate discussion of them is impossible in these pages, since it would involve not only technical terms unintelligible to many, but a host of expansive, expensive illustrations in music-print.

Music, however, is not the only art capable of being influenced by Far Eastern painting. Can we not invent, for instance, new metres and types of stanza in poetry which will be akin to some of the qualities mentioned above in a musical connection—a unifying flexibility, symmetry and asymmetry, space, *pause*, “minute touches in vital positions” (and these could be included deliberately in the metrical or stanza form), or foreground and background, and many more?

The second point is perhaps more significant still; for Chinese poetry does seem to fulfil in some measure Cézanne's desire to “make out of Impressionism something solid and like the work of the Old Masters.” Who, while reading Chinese poems, even in translation, has not been struck by the prevalence of impressionistic moods, impressionistic treatment? Yet—and this can hardly be conveyed in a translation—the actual form of these lyrics is extremely strict, of a fully classical rigour and vigour, and may even include compulsory correspondences of *syllables* within different lines. Here, then, is a salutary message for Western poets, since one of the most obvious needs of our age is the fixing of impressionism, surrealism, and the many social and psychological inroads on present style and ideals into despotic forms which shall be clear, solid, fruitful, ideal. This is but one example of the use of Oriental influences to create actually a fresh Western clarity and classicism, a subject to which we return at the end of this essay.

CHINESE CALLIGRAPHY AND THE WEST

We must turn now to a kindred but even wider æsthetic influence. This is the effect which the nature of Chinese *calligraphy* might have upon the West. And not only the nature of calligraphy, but—and maybe still more—its use and function, alike in the artistic world and in society at large.

As is well known, calligraphy has played a far wider and deeper rôle in Chinese civilization than it ever has done in the West. This does not, however, mean that its influence in the West cannot be increased. Of course, the peculiar decorative and suggestive power of the Chinese script has been one cause of the intense and versatile career of calligraphy. But the Western scripts are not entirely without such qualities; indeed—and this we hope—the study of the Chinese forms may assist Europeans to a realization of the beauty inherent in their own. What forms, now, would this realization be likely to take? In the first place, there would probably be a sheer

deepening and refinement of the practice of handwriting; even the placing of a date on a letter (or the numerous different ways of writing it) would have to be considered artistically and in relation to the whole composition. And the subtle spacing or emphasis in the letters of a word so as to parallel or decorate its sense and also its position in the whole paragraph—this is another possibility. The writing of proper names especially demands real attention; and the whole art of inscribing books or other presents, both as regards wording and in the realm of visual effect, offers a further vast field of æsthetic performance. How backward is the West in such questions still!

The basic ideographic nature of Chinese writing, reinforced on a psychological level by the traditional use of calligraphy as an evocation, equal to painting, of mood—or character—should suggest to us several fruitful devices for Europe. To start with, cannot we invent a system, an art, a game almost, in which we represent the name of a friend or other person, or of a place even, using the successive letters of his name in some inspired artistic pattern? Such a game or art would have, moreover, its higher reaches, in which our patterns would depict the *character* of the person concerned. As regards the general technique, such factors as the repetition of a letter within a word must be emphasized; the two “d’s” in “Edward,” for example, must either be represented in definite unity or symmetry or else in definite contrast. The initial “E” of “Edward” should be spaced out firmly, though not excessively (unless the person described is somewhat eccentric), and the other letters can be accommodated around its horizontal architecture. This is important, and may be known as the “stressing of the form of the initial letter.” The remaining letters in “Edward” are “w, a, r.” This combination, which happens to be a real (!) word, could be presented tastefully in clean, light ink as a unity, vertically maybe. Should we, however, desire to stress the waywardness or any other quality of the “Edward” described, we could modify the unity, the lightness, or the verticality of our way of presenting these three letters.

If now we add a surname—say, “Lowbury”—we are confronted with further problems, for we may wish, perhaps, to make the surname more formal in its treatment than the Christian name, or to effect some other distinction between them. In any case, we can see formal possibilities in the first four letters of the name “Lowbury,” for, if we stretch the “L” wide, both horizontally and vertically, we can enclose a good-sized “O” within its clasp, a rather “open” “W” within the “O,” and a “B” within that. Again, in a name such as “McMullan,” our desire to represent this or that aspect of the person’s character will influence us either in enclosing the second “M” in the first or in expressing some other spatial relationship between them; likewise with the two “L’s.” There remains, moreover, the relation between our treatment of the two relations “M—M” and “L—L.” The piquant, or fierce, or languid, or rich “C” of “Mc” presents still further problems. The apposition of the remaining letters presents myriad possibilities. Such possibilities are especially apparent when the opening letter of the name is “O,” for then the other letters may group themselves either within the circle or upon its circumference, while a letter such as “M” could combine a little of both these methods. The following aspects of calligraphy will assume especial technical importance: the degree of thickness of the writing, the type of character used, the possible use of “perforated” and incompletely formed letters, and the possible degrees of verticality and horizontality employed.

Yet it is not merely on an intimate scale that the influence of the Chinese spirit of calligraphy will take place. Of at least equal importance is its application to wider and more communal spheres, such as the creation of a New Heraldry. Surely the incredible subtlety and often beauty of the visual effects with which machinery has endowed us should be canalized into some superb social performance. Surely our time is ripe for a reassertion of the spirit of *pageantry*, surely our materials are vast enough; as for the probable poverty of the post-war world, that is all the better argument for planning a cunning use of our resources rather than for letting all things drift. And in this far-reaching movement the influence of calligraphy, both Chinese and Western, may well play a firm and inspiring part. In an age when—as is not impossible—each trade will have, not only its own heraldic badges, but its own

type of heraldry, based as far as is feasible on its own character and methods—in such an age the æsthetic exploitation of calligraphy on a large scale will surely find a place. Imaginative advertising has already developed many of the faculties necessary for such a florescence. And here a word may be said about the possibility of a new type of large-scale ideogram, or at least some visual representation of ideas, which will be based on the prominence of advertising and the cinema in our lives. These new forms will perhaps adapt themselves particularly to the needs and education of the masses of “backward” races whose millions may soon, rightly or wrongly, demand—and display—a fuller voice in the world’s doings. Our immediate discussion of the highly subtilized ideographic system of the Chinese makes such possibilities more vivid and clear.

Such are but a few of the rich potentialities enwombed by the calligraphic spirit in the relations of West and East. With all these schemes, of course, care will have to be taken not to let them degenerate into mere preciosity (*spielerei*) and affectation. This danger was less obvious in China itself, where the relation of calligraphy to the rest of life and thought and expression was—owing to many causes, including the script itself—more innately sympathetic. But the very way to prevent this degeneration into preciosity is to encourage our applications of calligraphy and to spread them more widely so that they will not be restricted to a clique, and will, indeed, through the wear and tear of universal usage, and maybe vulgarization, retain a health and a purpose which may invigorate the whole civilization of the West.

Lastly, there is the subject of Western ballet and its possible relations to ideogrammatic shapes. The present writer has dared to make an experiment in this direction. In the final scene of one of his musical stage-works, in which, to a background of music, dancing, singing, acting, lighting and poetry are—to use a metaphor—orchestrated in relation to each other, there is a fugue, intended to express ultimate rejoicing and the attainment of superconscious harmony. In the course of this the main forces of the *corps de ballet* arrange themselves in the shapes of successive ideograms. These are all appropriate in meaning, and some of them are repeated, an attempt being made to give form to their relationships. At the end they form the simple single-lined character *i*, (*yi*), (*yih*)=one; the whole; perfect; to unite; unchanging, etc.

A CHINESE ART OF WESTERN LIVING

Let us turn now to the art of *belles-lettres*.

The *belles-lettres* of China have much of value to contribute to the pooling of the world’s literary methods. One such contribution would be the blend between a wayward and impressionist subjectivism of content with a mathematical clarity of form. This is a combination we have noticed already with respect to Chinese poetry. For are not Chinese writers practised hands at the languid but clearly stated record of chance impressions? These subjective impressions may be gathered from the simplest and most domestic sources. Can we not find in this a valuable literary method for the modern West, with its wealth of unco-ordinated material, its private piquancies, its far, small hamlets and Hamlets of the soul? We could even plan a distinct type of essaylet or sketch of impressions for each trade: the present writer’s profession of a travelling musician suggested to him the treating of “intervals” as a convenient frame for the peculiar piquancies and perspectives brought by the rare moments of leisure in that profession. [*Quot homines, tot scriptiores.*]

But we need not restrict our methods to such a guild-conception, whatever its social invigoration may be. The probable poverty of everyone for the next few decades should make us even more eager to capture the Chinese flair for extracting lucid beauty from the simplest themes. As random examples from memory we may quote these excerpts:

“To cut with a sharp knife a bright green water-melon on a big scarlet plate of a summer afternoon. Ah, is this not happiness?”

“For enjoying flowers one must secure big-hearted friends. . . . For anticipating snow, one must secure beautiful friends.”

“One should get drunk before flowers in the daytime in order to associate

their light and colour; and one should get drunk in the night-time in order to clear his thoughts."

Or this :

"Some proper moments for drinking tea : . . . Before a bright window and a clear day. . . . When children are at school. . . . On a day of light showers. . . . Listening to songs and ditties. . . . When a song is completed. . . . Near famous springs and great rocks. . . . Moments when one should stop drinking tea. . . . Opening letters. . . . During big rain and snow," etc.

Or again :

"To keep three or four spots of eczema in a private part of my body and now and then to scald or bathe it with hot water behind closed doors. Ah, is this not happiness?"

Such was—and maybe is—Chinese ease. Yet it is important to realize that these methods need not be confined to small literary forms, but can mingle as elements in larger works, and maybe transmute and revitalize many traditional forms of Western writing. And through this whole Chinese spirit of ease the mechanistics of an age will be at once opposed, described, clarified.

It is not, however, merely in literary forms that we can create a "Chinese Art of Western Living," but, naturally, in life itself.

Can we not train ourselves to perceive *fresh sensations with fresh sensibilities*, in view especially of the variety of effects and occasions which modern life presents? Sensations and sensibilities based on food and drink, on the uses and beauty of water, on the place of radio in life; effects of light and of colour—whether natural, artificial, static, or moving—on considering an object in varying degrees of microscopic analysis, and many other sensations relating to Size and Scale; sensations relating to Time, in which the work of Marcel Proust will prove suggestive, or to subtle and effective Interruptions or Hesitations; finally, sensations and sensibilities which will distinguish æsthetic from purely mechanical aspects in Machinery itself.

CHINA AND JAMES JOYCE

To return to the possible interactions between the literary methods of West and East, it might be instructive to dwell now on some already existing parallels between Chinese qualities and the work of James Joyce. Now, however unrepresentative Joyce may be of modern style in general, he at least represents certain common tendencies both in a literary sense and as regards the whole *Stimmung* of the age. The fact that some of these parallels may have been unconscious is, in a sense, all the more to the point. First of all, there is his extreme preoccupation with the symbolic, the magical, the musical, the almost creative power of Names, of the Names of things : in this he echoes the cry of Confucius and many other early Chinese thinkers besides, with their elaborate theories of the unity of name and thing, and consequently their constant plea for the "Rectification of Names." As a second parallel we may take Joyce's fondness for compound words. Thirdly, he seems—and this is not really a paradox with our previous sentence—to delve into the elementary structure of language, and to revel in certain reverberating simplicities; and this, too, is Chinese. It is connected to an extent also with our fourth example—his use of single magnetic words as a whole sentence (see the sentence "Usurper . . ." at the end of the first scene of *Ulysses*. There are many other examples, all of which resemble Chinese methods in their *half-determined* meanings). [Finally, has he not the Chinese visual sense in word-form, as in his use of "Place to Place" ?]

INDIAN AND WESTERN LITERATURE

To turn to a different branch of literary culture, let us consider for a moment certain relations between Indian writing and the West. Hitherto, throughout the relations between the Indian and English cultures, it has been the Indians who have expressed themselves in English forms, and not *vice versa*. For instance, how many English writers of Hindu, Urdu, or Bengali are there in comparison with modern Indian writers both of English poetry and of English prose? Whatever may be the

reasons for this, the inequality exists and persists. And, indeed, it may not be practicable to expect English writers to learn Indian languages well enough to write well enough in them. Yet some kind of cultural return, compact both of courtesy and of friendship, is not impossible; some blending of the two cultures from the Western side might be evolved. In a small and preliminary way the present author has tried to do this in his poem *Kailasarta*, which is a semi-descriptive, half-philosophical work depicting a contemplative journey to the holy Mount Kailas in the Himalayas, long a symbolic peak (the "Abode of Gods") to Indian tradition. In the course of the pilgrimage, which is described in both physical and mental terms, numbers of subjects are touched upon, including the destiny of modern India. First of all the mountain is ascended, then a descent is made. The poem, which is in English, is composed in a blank-verse metre of 6-feet lines, this being a compromise between the traditional 8 of Sanskrit verse and the 5 feet of the English form. As far as possible certain salient features of all Indian verse, of whatever period, are introduced into the style of the piece: some of these would be the extensive use of imagery, even elaborate imagery; the prevalence of compound words, giving (to take a European parallel) an almost Hungarian appearance to the form; and the tricks of inner rhyme, assonances, and so forth. Minor structural points, such as the *casura* (or break in the line), essential in Sanskrit, are also observed. Surely in such a form there are at once creative possibilities and material for developments in criticism. Nor is the Kailasa the only Indian symbol or tradition which could be thus treated as a basis; there are numerous others, open for study and partial absorption by the West. And in many of them new metres and literary forms could be tried out; while the possibilities in subject-matter are very wide, and include the connecting of historic Indian ideals with modern concepts, both scientific and otherwise.

INDIAN ARTS AND WORLD ARCHITECTURE

Let us touch on a kindred subject.

Consider the contributions which Indian art—and not necessarily Indian architecture, to start with—could make to a universal pooling of architectural resources. To give two examples: The subtle gradations of hand—or head—movements found in Indian *dancing* could suggest gradations of lines and curves in the designs of architecture. Again: the points and lines of some strong colour, like black (e.g., hair) or blue, which Indian painters employ to help in the unification of their schemes, could surely be incorporated to some degree in architectural planning.

III

SOME ÆSTHETIC COMPARISONS AND BORROWINGS

Let us now descend to the more frivolous, if practical, arts. What Asiatic resources do we find here which are capable of contributing to Western ideas and practice? What has the East to tell Europe about cookery, eating, drinking, smoking, playing cards, playing games, enjoying life, living enjoyment?

We may suggest a few possibilities here:

(1) Cannot the alcohol-sodden Westerner moderate himself so as to borrow something of that sensitivity to different kinds of water which is cultivated by the Turkish and many another Muslim palate?

(2) In return, cannot Asiatics cultivate the Western sense of studied relationships between wines and foods, so that one can, and must, calculate which wine will match best with this food, which type of food with that wine, and so forth? So far even the Chinese have lacked a highly developed critique of these questions.

(3) Consider whether there cannot be any Oriental contributions to the creation of a *New Heraldry* (or a modern equivalent of heraldry). The various Chinese, Indian, Persian, and Japanese traditions could surely offer effects both of *symbol* and of *colour*; China and the Islamic world could contribute their *calligraphic* spirit.

The Chinese, for instance, excel most Europeans in their gift for *accessories to the feast*, such as wine-games.

Yet could not the East, inspired by a renascent West, learn to give as much attention to the problems and niceties of smoking as to those of drink and food? Can we

not envisage as great subtleties in this direction as in the Turkish appreciation of water, or the European co-ordination of food and drink, or the subtleties as regards flowers, in Iran or the Far East, as we shall next describe?

Persians and Chinese and Japanese have, on the whole, a delicate and well-thought-out appreciation of the value of flowers in human life. Not only do these peoples relish flowers, but they have studied the arrangement of them and, above all, the relation between flowers and occasions, flowers and friendship, or season, or literary mood, or many another occasion or purpose; in particular, the Chinese have developed a unique and ordered sense of parallelisms, of which flower is to match the visit of precisely this friend, or which type of flower matches this particular mood at this hour of this season amid such scenery. At times the Chinese will even semi-humanize the flowers, as witness such categories, introduced into *belles-lettres*, as "Conditions favourable to the flowers" or "Conditions opposed to the flowers."*

Speaking generally, the Oriental attitude will tend, especially in Japan and China, towards austerity and the art of omission in the arrangement of flowers—the arrangement often of the single flower. Subtly precise angles and tones and surroundings seem, on this view, more important than effects of exuberance or mass; these, on the other hand, tend to be the Western ideals as regards the presentation of flowers. Neither ideal in itself is less or more æsthetic than the other. What is needed is a higher critical sensibility which will be able to direct when one ideal is to be used, and when the other. When, and where also; for the two types of presentation can on occasions coexist within a single wide decorative scheme.

This last suggestion can be generalized into applying this principle of synthesis to the whole sphere of decoration, and indeed of the social amenities themselves. Can we not, that is, create an art of "arrangement" in the most general sense, dealing with decoration, interior architecture even, wine and food, smoking, games of all kinds, the reception and entertainment of guests, and, finally, the parallelisms possible between many of these different subjects themselves: all this art, this study, to be based on the proper relation of the two ideals (say, the Far Eastern and the European) discussed in the previous paragraph?

Exuberance and mass on the one side and deliberate focusing on line (even to the extent of bareness, and certainly on effects of loneliness) on the other: these are the two ideals which we propose to reconcile and dispose in mutual order in all the spheres of social life, or of decoration, mentioned above.

Of course, the tendency to speak naïvely of "East" and "West" can lead to definite error, as it would if we were to forget the very different attitudes of India and China as regards the ideas of our last two paragraphs. For the Indian exuberance is more extreme than that of Europe itself in such matters, even when under Islamic influence.

And here we reach for a moment a momentous problem—the value to be obtained not only from co-operations and ordered contrasts between China and the West, or India and the West, but between China and India themselves. And especially is this the case in the spheres of decoration and all the social amenities which we have been discussing. In fact, an infusion of Chinese æsthetic materialism might benefit India in many ways. This is so especially as the influence, coming from a fellow-Asiatic source, would perhaps meet with less unconscious (and conscious) opposition than any English or other European attempt thus to "lighten" and formalize the cultural forms of India. The whole labyrinth, however, of *the possible interrelations between India and China, socially as well as culturally*, is too vast for treatment here.

IV

INTELLECTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN EUROPE AND CHINA

Let us now turn to some more directly intellectual relations, rather than artistic, between Europe and China. In the first place, most honourable mention should be

* See *The Art of Living*, by Lin Yu-Tang, a book we have already quoted in several contexts. This author quotes repeatedly from Chinese authors with the object of illustrating such aspects of Chinese culture as we are here stressing.

made of Dr. I. A. Richards' work, *Mencius on the Mind*, in which he studies, first, the *ranges of meaning* of key-words in both Chinese and English, and then the interactions of these respective ranges when the two languages meet. The sub-title of his book is "Experiments in Multiple Definition," and he indeed suggests numerous such problems, numerous foci, solutions, and a "Technique for Comparative Studies."

Apart from such methods, however, there are still many realms in which the study of the Chinese mind and Chinese history can lead us to new problems and to speculate on many improvements in sciences or branches of study which already exist. One example is the study of history. A knowledge of Oriental history can bring home to the historian that history is concerned as much with Space as with Time. Hence, every single historical category or pattern we may hold or invent should be worked out as regards the horizontality of Space as well as the verticality of Time. The *simultaneous* existence of A and B should be quite as exhaustively studied as their successive existence.

It is possible, moreover, that the very structure of the Chinese language will be able to suggest fresh relations and concepts in Logic itself. The fact that every Chinese ideogram expresses what is to the Westerner often a bewildering *range* of meanings carries itself some logical significance. For this shows that certain patterns of meaning, which include numerous unusual kinds of relation, are possible and—what is more—coherent and even fruitful. Even if the value of such examples will—some exceptional cases apart—rarely exceed the sphere of mere suggestiveness, there are still certain relations between general and particular which can be made into pretty universal logical principles.

But our distilling of fresh intellectual principles from Chinese data need not cease here. We can evolve them in many further ways. For instance, we can even do so by reinterpreting some of the classical Chinese texts.

To begin with, there are certain fundamental concepts in Chinese thought which are capable of being paralleled and expanded thus. Chief among these, perhaps, is the conception of *Hising*, or "Nature" ("Essence" might be an equally effective translation). The "true nature" of Man, to which the sage should guide men to return, is, for instance, a constant preoccupation with Confucius, Mencius, and others. Now, can we not elaborate, with every resource of modern psychology and history, a study which will discuss the effects which the innate nature of a thing may have on its career, its functions, and its relationships? A man who studies music and other arts as well cannot help giving more time to the former, since it is itself a time-art; or again, a long, yet not specially important, word has to occupy more space in printing—and space means prominence. This interrelation between the element or essence, or nature, on the one hand, and the function or relationship or activity on the other, is of vast importance in many fields, more especially in two: æsthetics and social psychology.

One nation, G., may have a sense of infinite things, yet it will be ill-advised to use this as its inevitable, unconscious expression in practical affairs, with the result maybe of military megalomania. Or the mere physical size of a country may create difficulties as regards the relation of nature and function. Equally ill-advised might be another nation, F., as unfortunate in its use of its own qualities of Anxiety, Saïre, and love of Convention as G. was as regards its sense of Infinity. Such are some simple complexities as regards Nature and Function. On the other hand, we cannot deny that sometimes—as when a rather neutral, colourless temperament, E., becomes a smooth reconciler and rendezvous for every other—the function and the nature *ought* to coincide. Else there will be a lack of strength of purpose. To decide the precise limits of all these conditions is a task of absolute importance at the present time.

There are far ramifications of this concept of whether "*x* must do a thing in an *x* way," and whether "the very manner of existence of *x*, or the degree itself to which we perceive *x*'s existence, is not affected radically by the nature of *x* itself." For *x* in the above substitute almost any psychological or philosophical theory, and then perceive the relativity and the subjective bias of nearly all of them. We have arrived here, in fact, at a distinction between a thing regarded, on the one hand, as an element, an entity, a substantive, and, on the other hand, as a function, an adverb or

adjective. Clearly there is little space to examine this concept here, but it is one which can be applied luminously to problem after problem in philosophy. Here we will only remark, as a final touch, that one interpretation of this distinction between "a thing as an element or entity" and "a thing as a function" is to view it as a difference between the same "thing" in two dimensions.

Now we can also observe that a sense of such "dimensions" is prominent in the Chinese way of thinking itself. It is expressed at the very beginning of the *Chung Yung* ("Central Harmony," "The Centre, The Common," etc., one of the "Fan Books"), where the distinction between *Chung* and *Yung* respectively is described in these terms: "*On appelle milieu ce qui n'incline d'aucun côté, et constant, ce qui ne change pas. Le milieu est la voie droite pour tous les êtres, et la constance est la loi invariable qui les régit.*"* Can we not see in this distinction between *milieu* and *constant*, or between *voie droite* and *loi invariable*, something analogous to a distinction of vertical and horizontal, or perhaps of depth and extension?

Later on in the same work a distinction, which could be called—together with many other titles—one of dimensions, is made between the terms "equilibrium" (or "central self") and "harmony." The passage, which is full of interest from other standpoints also, runs as follows:

"When the passions, such as joy, anger, grief, and pleasure, have not awakened, that is our central self" ["équilibre" (Couvreur)], or moral being (= *chung*). When these passions awaken and each and all attain due measure and degree, that is *harmony*, or the moral order (= *ho*). Our central self ["équilibre"], or moral being, is the great basis of experience, and *harmony*, or moral order, is the universal law in the world."†

As a last Chinese example, we might consider whether the concentration of Chinese meaning and expressiveness in the terse yet rich ideogrammatic symbols, and the extended line of meaning and expressiveness shown in nearly all other languages, may not be represented legitimately as different dimensional types.

The exact procedure of such a study of dimensions is not always simple. Sometimes we shall analyse the given elements into differing dimensions—depth and extension, horizontal and vertical, and so forth—while sometimes we shall, on the contrary, discard differences of dimension which have already been perceived and resolve them into the "main-stream" of the vivid context. In all complex works of art both these principles will be seen in action; while, as a final *point de théâtre*, can we not find certain circumstances in which analysis and synthesis will themselves appear as different but related dimensions?

Our second example, though in effect a quotation from the *Chung Yung*, will be a passage cited therein from the *Shih-Ching*, or "Book of Poetry," and runs thus: "The sparrow in its flight rises to heaven; the fish leaps to the depths of the abyss." And the commentary explains: "This signifies that the natural law is manifested alike in the highest regions and in the lowest." Now all this is relevant to a most significant category, one which can be made to embrace nearly all our contemporary problems: the category of *Scale, and of Wholes*. An imaginative use of Gestalt psychology will show us how every item of our thought or action is construed according to some conscious or unconscious Whole—though this whole need not be "bigger" in a cruder sense, but may be only a form of context or level. Now science has revealed unexpected subtleties in this direction by demonstrating how a given entity may take on different characters and different functions according as it is observed at various macroscopic or microscopic levels. Science, that is to say, has opened out a wide gamut of contexts and levels, all of which we must have the courage and persistence to investigate in relation to whatever object we have in hand. This applies quite as much, though more subtly, to moral and aesthetic data as to the physical. Especially should we note how the various members of a context can sometimes be reconciled if one is regarded at this level of microscopic analysis, and another at some other level. Indeed, we must not shirk regarding even loved human

* Translated by S. Couvreur, S.J.

† Translated by Lin Yu-Tang.

beings in every degree of synthesis and analysis; and we should learn the art of when to draw the line with a sweep, and when to concentrate on details, and when also to blend both the methods. Further still, when we analyse at what point a change of level means the emergence of a new integration or of an individual personal thing, we are approaching one of the most tantalizing of modern dilemmas—namely, the exact relations between Quality and Quantity. And thus our ancient Chinese text is linked up with the logic of Marxism. Finally, can we not begin to perceive fruitful relations between science and the rest of things by considering, as has been suggested, the possible parallels, in other spheres, to this question of levels as first clearly stated by scientists; and not merely parallels, but extensions?

Our next examples will be taken from the second of the Books, the Analects of Confucius, or *Lun Yü*. We will comment on three texts from Confucius. First (IV, 7), there is the remark: "Each class of men falls into an excess which is peculiar to itself."

Now, cannot this characteristic attributed to "excess" be extended and applied to other functions? Can we not, that is to say, adopt the *pattern* of Confucius' saying and show how it might be applied to functions which have an important bearing on our own times? Of course, we cannot claim Confucius' authority for these excursions, but we can claim that they represent a legitimate extension of his ideas and of the very pattern—not unimportant for the Chinese mind—in which he has cast them. For example, then:

Can we not write and form a literature of commentary upon "Each type of man—or each type of mentality—has its own particular *tolerance*"? This would lead us to the study of the types of tolerance which varying mentalities exhibit in a rich and liberal society. The way in which the maze of external ideas and other people's beliefs are regarded as aspects of, or means towards, one's own central belief could form an interesting psychological study. This continuous intermingling between functions or aspects and definite reality, and back again, constitutes a major object of study, alike in the personal and the sociological spheres. *Myths*, too, could be formed dealing with such situations. From this, moreover, let us proceed to generalize such a study and look out for qualities other than "excess" or "tolerance," which one could treat in a similar fashion. All such would be possible extensions and applications to Confucius' text.

Our second example from the *Lun Yü* is, in fact, not a quotation from Confucius, but a record of Tseng Tseu's himself quoting the *Book of Changes* (*Yi Ching*). In any case, the matter is similar to many Confucian utterances, though it is somewhat opposite in expression to the previous example, which dealt with "excess." For here it is said (XIV, 28): "The thoughts and the projects of the wise man rest always within the limits of his duty and of his condition." Now, this surely could be made the germ of a social, historical, and political critique, in that there undoubtedly is some kind of *limit* in human affairs, some turning-point beyond which the value (or even the nature) of a process begins to decline, though admittedly to discover such exact limits is an incredibly difficult task.

Here are some of the more important problems of *limits* in the intellectual sphere: What are to be the limits to which—

Psychology and psychological interpretation should influence all other branches of knowledge or life? Religion, logic, ethics, criminology, æsthetics, etc., are all involved in this question.

Æsthetic, or historical, or economic interpretations should be applied to Religion; or scientific interpretations to Philosophy; or physico-chemical concepts to biological sciences?

Generally speaking, the interactions of each branch of knowledge on the others.

Similarly, the interactions of the various Arts.

Further examples could be as follows:

The limits to which we should keep inhibited the unconscious complexes which psycho-analysis has revealed, and the limits to which we should "disinhibit" them.

Or this most subtle point in sociology :

The limits to which a man should find creative joy, *either* in his own work *or* in "objective" cultural activities—respectively.

In economics we have already a technique for discovering the limits of the various economic devices and activities proposed, so that, e.g., an increase in wages shall not produce an inflation.

In the socio-political sphere, moreover, it is especially hard to find the right limits. There are many cases where, for instance, a "liberation" from a particular evil only results in a second evil, or where we must consider at every turn the possibility of other elements in the situation; yet there exist equally many cases where the reverse is the case, and no limits, no need for especial gradations and comparisons are required. Thus Tseng Tseu's standpoint must be *balanced* by a complementary one.

We may then well base our critique on the nice science of deciding when we must bear in mind limits—and *what* limits—when, that is, we must see that 10×6 and 12×5 each fails to reach 61, and when we must ignore them. So far this science is in its infancy as applied to social, political, and historical spheres: perhaps it is included in Plato's insistence on *Geometry* as an essential study for the Ideal Ruler.

Yet this very necessity for some balancing element in all our interpretations of Chinese classical wisdom can make a convenient passage to our third example from the *Lun Yü* (VI, 21). In this case the materials for the balancing are both already existent in the original quotation. This runs as follows: "The prudent man loves water, and the perfect man loves the mountains. The prudent man gives himself over to movement; the perfect man remains motionless. The prudent man lives happy; the perfect man lives long." Here we have, surely, the germ of a critique which can—to take but two instances—analyse philosophical systems into the balancings of, or compensations between, different elements; and also will be able to decide what particular science or attitude may be demanded as a *balance* for another which may have run to some extreme—in order to restore the truly Chinese ideal of the Golden Mean.

To continue those very elementary reinterpretations of Chinese classical texts let us consider one example from Mencius, whose sayings comprise the last of the *Sz-Shü*, or *Four Books*. The example is relevant to social organization and the art of politics; but Mencius' statement may require the addition of a somewhat contrary opinion in order to attain a true balance. The text is from the first chapter (section 4) of the Third Book of Mencius, and runs as follows: "Inequality is inherent in the very nature of things." Now, this expresses one important truth, without which no society can attain flexibility, freedom, or genius; but it requires to be balanced by a somewhat contrary truth, one which would emphasize a certain basic equality of treatment for all men as such. How to apportion the doctrine of equality and that of inequality in any given context is indeed part of the higher technics—hardly learnt yet—of politics and social organization. The peril of losing subtle standards through identifying the equality of men with the equality of all *things* or all *ideas* could also be treated under this heading—not to mention, of course, the equal and exactly contrary dangers.

A final problem would be the way in which Oriental influences, by acting, as it were, *in perspective*, could effect new and good social standards and traditions for Europe and new Social Classicisms in fact. This could be achieved largely by small, subtle adjustments between the conscious and unconscious performance of conventions, use of symbols, and so forth; and this itself could be obtained through the perspective of Asiatic interpretations. Let us hope, also, that the imposition of Western customs on Asia, with whatever intentions it was begun and whatever may have been its first results, will succeed in achieving an equal sublimation.

Nor is the power of East and West to help each other towards fresh standards, new stylizations, limited to the social sphere. In artistic fields the same principle can be as easily in evidence. Finally, in such sublimations may be found the solution of another problem—how to resolve, as on a higher and maturer plane, the romantic and partly inaccurate admiration of the *distant* land, the far culture, a yearning felt by the East for the West scarcely less than by the West for the East.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE IN CHINA*

BY P. M. YAP

THE place of science in China presents to anyone who has some acquaintance with European and Chinese civilization problems of singular interest. Let us begin by obtaining the proper perspective. At some epoch far back in the past two great branches of the human family began to spread eastwards and westwards from Western Asia, the first branch subsequently becoming the creators of the East Asiatic culture, embracing a large number of races and centred in China Proper, the second later giving rise to the Greco-Roman and Judæo-Christian culture, of which modern Western civilization is the heir. While the above may be somewhat oversimplified pre-history, yet the salient fact remains that in the past there have been these two great and extensive cultures, each almost a world unto itself until comparatively modern times. (It may be pointed out here that the present civilizations of Egypt and India cannot claim direct cultural continuity with ancient Egyptian and Indian civilizations.)

There have been, and to a less extent still are, important points of difference between European and what I may now call Chinese civilizations. Rule by law, democracy and the Christian ethic have been distinctive of Europe; but the fundamental point of difference is, to our mind, the fact that Chinese civilization, in contrast to the European, has never until very recently accommodated science and the concomitant technology to any great extent. This, then, is the problem before us. It would be futile to suppose that anyone but a sinologue with training in philosophy, history, economics and sociology can adequately tackle this problem, for, indeed, it is one of the central problems of the comparative study of civilizations. Yet we may perhaps be permitted this afternoon to make some survey of it.

By science I mean the body of knowledge describing the regularities and uniformities of the universe, and also the activities of men directed towards the acquisition of such knowledge. The method which scientists use is given the generic name of "Scientific Method," which can, somewhat artificially, be analyzed into various cognitive processes such as imagination, supposition, observation, inference, various kinds of deduction and induction and so forth. But for our purpose we need only note two essentials of the scientific approach—that is to say, objective and critical discrimination of all things presented to the mind, and, above all, the practice of *experimenting* or checking one's suppositions by going to the objects involved and manipulating them systematically and repeatedly to discover regular cause and effect relationships instead of being content with sitting down and merely speculating.

The scientific method has a long history, but it was never consciously formulated until the time of Francis Bacon. Even today many scientists are not aware of the methodology of their profession, and great discoveries are usually made without conscious regard to procedure, though afterwards method can be detected in it. I wish to emphasize the fact that the procedure of the scientist is not something esoteric and mysterious, but comes readily to all of us when we have to deal with natural objects and situations—and who of us does not?

In what sense can we say that China has had science? Technology in China had reached no mean level. Indeed, it was at least equal to that of Europe until three hundred years ago, and it was Francis Bacon himself who pointed out that the age of science in Europe ushered in by the Renaissance depended mainly on three inventions—the printing-press, gunpowder and the mariner's compass—all of which were anticipated in China, if not borrowed from her. In 200 B.C. kites were used for military signalling; as aids to production, water-mills appeared in 100 B.C., windmills much later in A.D. 500, but still 500 years before they were first recorded in Europe.

* Lecture delivered before the China Summer School in 1943. Dr. George Woo presided.

And it is said that in A.D. 560 Chung Chi Tsu constructed boats driven by primitive screw-propellers. All these, it should be noted, can be compared to the invention of the gear, water-screw, water-wheel and pump by the ancient Greeks.

But technology is not necessarily science, though it is one of the sources of science. We look in vain for empirical observation and experimentation in order to discover general laws of Nature, except for isolated instances; for example, when the Neo-Mohists about 250 B.C. experimented with plane and concave mirrors and lenses (arising from the use of spectacles), and when Chu Hsi, 300 years before Leonardo da Vinci observed, as he recorded, "shells and mussels in the high mountains" and noticed that some of them "appeared in stones," and then induced "the stones are primitive earth, shells and mussels belong to the water, so that the low has been made high, and the soft changed into the hard."

There was, indeed, a great deal of empirical knowledge; in astronomy regular observations were made and comets and eclipses faithfully recorded. The astronomy of the planets was well developed and the five planets and twelve constellations were recognized. In chemistry the distinction was even made between the deliquescent and indeliquescent common nitrates used for manufacturing gunpowder, and the air was divided into oxygen (*Yin*) and nitrogen (*Yang*) and it was postulated that in combustion combination with oxygen took place. The ancient medicine employed many useful drugs, some of which—e.g., stramonium, ephedrine, chaulmoogra oil and kaolin—are used in modern practice. But in no branch of learning did science escape from the trammels of scholastic philosophy: the philosophical concepts of the two elemental forces, *yang* and *yin*, and the five elements, *wu-hsing*, entered intimately into the speculative physiology and pathology and the psychology of the day. (Cp. Galen's system of pathology and the Aristotelian doctrine of temperaments respectively.)

Why, then, did empirical science not develop? Why did not philosophy gracefully liberate the sciences, as in the Alexandrian Empire, especially when there was such a close parallel between the pre-scientific achievements of the Hellenic (or pre-Alexandrian) Greeks and of the Chinese?

One theory, and a very naive one, is that, without assuming that philosophy is a higher development than science, or *vice versa*, certain races are organically incapable of developing (and presumably using) the scientific method. W. C. D. Whetham, of Cambridge thus concluded in 1912 that "we must probably believe the growth of science to be dependent ultimately on some peculiarity of brain convolution and quality of mind inherent in certain individuals or types of the human species and capable of stimulation by appropriate circumstances." I would hesitate to bring this hypothesis into the discussion were it not for the fact that I have encountered similar views even in university circles; but, as it is, the hypothesis ignores the present-day achievements of non-Caucasian scientists and harks back to the days of instinct psychology and innate cognitive differences between races, whereas modern psychology has demonstrated no racial differences, among large and civilized groups at least, which cannot be put down to the effect of nurture. And while there are morphological differences between the brains of various races, their significance in regard to their correlations with the higher cognitive processes remains very speculative. This manner of approach is necessarily futile and unproductive.

A more satisfactory method would be to study the development of Chinese philosophy in general and methodology in particular—that is, to examine rather the cultural environment.

Professor Fung Yu-lan has attempted to trace what he calls the "art" motif in Chinese philosophy and its opposite, the "nature" motif. The former is a tendency, implicit in science, to modify and control nature in man's interests, while the latter represents the negativistic and self-effacing attitude towards nature, as exemplified in Taoism and Buddhism, in contrast to the little-known philosophic school of Mohism. (Confucianism occupied a position midway between the two views of life.) Like the Stoics and the Christians, the Mohists viewed the nature of man as intrinsically bad; hence, according to Professor Fung, there was the urge and the need to improve what is naturally endowed, and Nature herself. Thus Suen-tzu wrote in the Mohistic tradition (250 B.C.): "It is better to treat Nature as a thing and regulate it than to con-

sider it very great and always think of it. It is better to control Nature and use it than to follow and admire it." Since good was not within men they had to seek it outside; they needed science, or power and certainty, to help them in their littleness and weakness. But Mohism, indeed the whole "art" motif, disappeared after the first emperor (c. 950 A.D.), and later Chinese philosophy was swamped by Buddhism, an extreme "nature" philosophy. China then had no science because, apart from the Mohistic era, science was not necessary by her own standard of values.

It is highly doubtful that Christian ethical philosophy had any important influence on the genesis of modern science, though it may have been a factor in the rise of the modern positive outlook. It is, however, an interesting fact that the later followers of Moh-tzu were definitely scientists, recognizing a scientific method based on agreement and difference (cp. Francis Bacon), entertaining, according to Hu Shih, modern conceptions of induction and deduction, and experimenting, as I have pointed out, on mirrors, lenses and the like. (Moh-tzu himself is said to have invented, like Archimedes, machines to break down city walls.) But in spite of all this it is probably truer to say that science and the positive attitude towards life, both of which we find in the Mohists and Neo-Mohists, rose from the same roots rather than that the former sprang from the latter. What these roots are we will consider later.

We may next note another period in the development of Chinese thought crucial from the point of view of our study. After the decline of Mohism and the introduction of Buddhism there occurred in the Sung Dynasty, about A.D. 1100, the Neo-Confucian revival, when a vigorous spirit of inquiry appeared among a group of scholars under the leadership of Chu Hsi. A new methodology was evolved which enjoined men to "go to things and objects and investigate the reasons thereof." Further, it was bravely announced, "from your own body to the reason of being of heaven and earth, everything is an object of investigation." We notice here the scientific spirit and the germs of empiricism. But this attitude never developed into the full and complete scientific approach in the study of external phenomena. The fatal absence of the habit of experimentation, and the lack of adequate instruments for manipulating natural objects, soon forced the savants to narrow down the scope of their investigations to the study of history, historical geography and philology, and this has continued, especially through the Ching Dynasty, right up to present times at a high level of scientific attainment. This, in spite of an intervening epoch when Wang Yang-ming and his school sought to uphold intuitive speculation, after having failed to make fruitful use of Chu Hsi's dictum on the empirical approach.*

We thus see that, of the three essentials of *natural* science, critical discrimination had appeared in full measure in the intellectual tradition, but the habits of inducing general laws from particular occasions and of experimentation had never gained a foothold in it. The student of the history of Chinese philosophy must admit that at this point he can help us no further in our problem. It is necessary to consider the development of Chinese thought, but while necessary, it is not sufficient. For it still remains legitimate and sensible for us to ask: If mohistic science and positivism disappeared after a brief two hundred years (450-250 B.C.), why was it so? If the habits of inducing general laws from particular experiences and of experimentation were episodic, why were they so?

We need to turn to the nature of the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the past for an explanation. It is unsatisfying merely to say that Mohism disappeared because it was not congenial to the spirit of the age or because of persecution by the first Emperor. It is more satisfying to correlate its decline with the social and economic changes which occurred about that time; indeed, this would be less superficial. We are, of course, attempting the approach of the historical materialist; this attitude, it may be pointed out, finds some support in present-day psychology, in so far as psychologists increasingly hold that the characters of men are very largely dependent on *acquired* emotional responses, sentiments, attitudes and interests, all of which affect ratiocination. So it must have been with the tyrannous first Emperor and his Prime Minister Li Sze.

Perhaps the interpretation of Chinese economic history most cogent for our purpose is that of Dr. Chi Chao-ting, who maintains that the ascension of the first Emperor took place (255 B.C.) during a period of transition from classical feudalism to a state

of semi-feudalism, which has been given the name of "oriental society." This "oriental society" lasted until the end of the Opium War (1842), when China entered into the period of capitalistic production. It was composed of peasants, centralized by irrigation and other large-scale public works, and ruled by bureaucratic scholar-officials who were at the same time landed proprietors. Other economists have emphasized that the society was fundamentally absolutist. But the most important fact about it is that it was a society based on *land* capitalism, involving industrial capitalism only of a primitive type.

As in Hellenic Greece, there was a disastrous divorce of the intellectuals from the producers, the craftsmen and peasants, to whom, it must be emphasized, the empirical method and a positive attitude would come most naturally. It was not to be expected that in the case of the "oriental society" the landowner and "rentier" would interest himself in the daily work of his tenants. It is a fact, which can be proved by citations from the classics, that the scholar-officials and landed proprietors despised manual work, just as the Greek philosophers and slave-owners despised the practical tasks of their slaves. And the society was such that any bright intellect who aspired to have leisure for thought and study had to become a scholar-official, hold himself aloof and, if not to memorize the classics, indulge in wilful speculations, mainly on morality. The Taoist mystics who refused to accept this state of affairs and preserved, like the mystical theologians of the later Middle Ages in Europe, some feeling for nature and indulged in semi-scientific speculations, never managed to gain any measure of respect in such a society.

Here, again, we may ask why this should have been so. Why was there this economic stagnation for two thousand years, broken only by the impact of Western trade during the last century? Why was there no economic expansion, which might have given impetus and support to early science, even as the expansion of Greece into the Alexandrian Empire turned Aristotle the philosopher into Aristotle the scientist? Why did not industrial capitalism and commerce arise earlier and create a vigorous bourgeoisie, who might have given support and encouragement to the craftsmen and lent them their intellectual endowment, even as in sixteenth-century Europe the rising bourgeoisie, based on trade and finance, gave immense support to science in the workshop and university?

We can only point to the homogeneity of the land, the density of the population and consequently the cheapness of labour, to the isolation of the country from other flourishing centres of population and to the wide extent of the land, which could not have been conducive to foreign trade and commerce. While renaissance Europe had China and the East Indies to attract her merchant adventurers China herself had no such advantages and no such goals.

As it was, modern science had to be introduced into China from the West, and this coincided with the rise of capitalistic production in China and the development of foreign trade. In the days of the Tung-Wen Kuan, the first college giving training in the sciences, at the end of the last century, it was thought that China could retain her own oriental culture, with the adoption here and there of Western techniques and machines; but this was doomed to disappointment, as was demonstrated during the First Sino-Japanese War, in which China was defeated. It was clear to all but the most obtuse that China had to modernize her own socio-economic foundations, and this was not achieved until the establishment of the Republic in 1911.

In 1929 there was set up the Academia Sinica, a great organization controlling a number of research institutes and laboratories, charged with the task of promoting and co-ordinating all scientific activities in China. A vision of Sun Yat-sen had materialized; a vision, too, of Leibnitz, the philosopher and sinophile, who in his *Novissima Sinica* had envisaged a great academy with branches in Berlin, Moscow and Peking engaged in common scientific research, for science knows no national boundaries and has no abode other than in the minds and hearts of men.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE GROWTH OF FEDERAL FINANCE IN INDIA. By P. J. Thomas, M.A., B.LITT., D.PHIL.(OXON.), Professor of Economics, University of Madras; Member, Madras Legislative Council. (*Oxford University Press.*) £1 net.

(*Reviewed by P. K. WATTAL.*)

Really good books on Indian finance are not numerous, but this is one of them. The writer is an Indian economist of high standing, who also takes a keen interest in public affairs as a member of a provincial legislature. He is neither an official apologist, who sees good in everything done by Government, nor an extreme nationalist, who disapproves of everything done by Great Britain in relation to India. Dr. Thomas puts the balanced nationalist point of view very clearly and forcibly. The book is well documented and deals not only with federal finance, but also other important aspects of Indian public finance, such as railway and irrigation finance, currency and exchange, taxation policy and local finance.

A study of the growth of federal finance in India brings to light several points of interest to the student of Indian affairs as well as to the student of human nature in general, and of British mentality in particular. The highly centralized system of administration introduced by the Charter Act of 1833 led to chronic deficits and serious friction between the central and the provincial governments. Its main defect was that the spenders of public money—namely, the provincial governments—had no interest in economy. Whatever revenue was collected was handed over to the Government of India, who made grants to provincial governments for specific purposes and appropriated unspent balances at the close of the year. The provincial governments had no interest in the collection of the revenue; the only interest they had was in drawing upon the central treasury, and the more they drew, the more they could do for the moral and material welfare of the people committed to their charge.

The logical conclusion was to give provincial governments the much-needed incentive to economy. But that step was taken hesitatingly and in a piecemeal fashion. A scheme of federal finance was prepared as early as 1867, but was turned down on the ground that, if finance were federalized, administration had also to be federalized, and decentralization would weaken the Government and endanger the safety of India. Moreover, there was not then in India a degree of political and economic unity sufficient for the formation of a federation. Further, there was no meaning in talking of federation when both the central and provincial governments were equally controlled by officials. A government must be controlled either from above or from below. In the absence of popular control, the control from above was necessary. Such being the case, it followed that the only guiding factor in adjusting relations with provincial governments was expediency; one thing at a time, easing the need of the moment by the devices of the moment, irrespective of the contradictions involved in proceeding bit by bit and the friction and waste to which it gave rise.

At the first provincial settlement of 1871 a few heads of expenditure were transferred to provincial control. No change was made in respect of revenue heads, even though it was obvious that the same consideration—namely, incentive to economy—which applied to provincialization of expenditure, applied no less strongly to provincialization of revenue heads. As Sir John Strachey said at the time: "When local governments feel that good administration of the excise and stamps and other branches of revenue will give to them, and not only to the Government of India, increased income and increased means of carrying out the improvements which they have at

heart, then and not till then shall we get the good administration which we desire."

At the next settlement certain heads of revenue were accordingly made over to the provinces. The incentive to economy was, however, not of a lasting character, as there were quinquennial revisions and provincial balances were resumed to meet the exigencies of central finance. This naturally led to wasteful expenditure towards the closing years of the quinquennium. Then by slow degrees divided heads of revenue and quasi-permanent contracts were evolved. Finally, after a lapse of forty years, it was decided in 1912 to make the then existing provincial contracts permanent.

Another truly British feature was the acceptance of the *status quo* as the basis of the financial settlements with the provinces. No inquiries were made regarding the taxable capacity or the needs of each province, and no attempt was made to ensure uniformity in regard to administrative standards or expenditure *per capita* on nation-building activities. These inequalities have remained to this day, in spite of the protests made by the comparatively badly treated provinces. Even a trained financier like Sir Otto Niemeyer ruled out such protests. Madras is one of the provinces with financial grievances, and these have been very forcibly brought out at several places by the author, who also comes from that presidency.

The first step in the direction of federal finance was taken in 1921 with the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution. A clean separation of revenues was made between the Central Government and the provinces. The aim was to give the provinces independent resources, and this was pushed to such an extent that it was considered unconstitutional even to make grants to the provinces. The powers of the provincial governments in regard to taxation and borrowing, as well as the reserved subjects, were, however, subject to central control in important matters. The working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms on the financial side was not a happy one. Throughout the whole of this period all provinces, excepting Madras and the Punjab, were faced with heavy deficits and had to be given substantial relief by the Centre. They could show no great results, as the resources at their disposal were inadequate to meet their growing needs in respect of social services. The Centre also had heavy deficits during this period, much heavier than those of the provinces, but its position recovered after 1935, while the provinces were still in a parlous condition.

When the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution was under revision great stress was laid on the enchantment of the financial powers and resources of the provinces. The system of complete segregation of resources, which had proved a failure in the United States of America also, was abandoned, and a mixed system adopted in its place. The revenues of India are now divided into three main categories—namely, (1) Central, (2) Provincial, and (3) jointly Central and Provincial. Both the Centre and the provinces have their own separate revenues, over which each has exclusive jurisdiction, legislative and administrative, and, in addition, they both share certain common revenues, levied and collected by the Central Government under Central law and mainly through Central officers. The main shared head is income tax, from which the provinces receive 3 crores out of a total collection of 17½ crores. The jute-growing provinces, and particularly Bengal, also receive nearly two-thirds of the net collection of the jute export duty.

Under the new Constitution the old deficits of the provinces were wiped out, and, in addition, they were given substantial resources to ensure a fair start. The former restrictions on their financial powers were also removed. Provincial autonomy has been a complete success, and provinces have used their powers, both in regard to taxation and also to borrowing, with great circumspection and moderation. There is still, however, the feeling that they have not got enough money to meet the growing expenditure on nation-building services. Economic amelioration is in the forefront of every provincial programme, and the removal of ignorance, dirt, debt, and disease

HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By Sir George Dunbar. Third edition, 2 vols. (*Nicholson and Watson.*) 10s. 6d. net each volume.

That within eight years of the first publication, which brought the story to the passing of the 1935 Act, a third edition of this comprehensive and well-proportioned history should be required is a testimony both to its intrinsic worth and to the existence—sometimes questioned—of a considerable public deeply interested in India and the manifold problems of her condition and future. The single-volumed first edition of some 630 pages was rather bulky to handle, and the present division into two parts, but with continuous paging, is welcome. The net augmentation, including the subject index supplementing that of names, is not more than 40 pages, part of it a postscript setting out in objective terms the events of the war years while Lord Linlithgow was Viceroy.

F. H. B.

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.

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